# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1898.

## The Week.

The final acceptance by Senator Gray of his appointment as peace commissioner completes the list. The commission as it stands consists of three members of the Senate foreign-relations committee; Mr. Day, the immediate representative of the President; and Mr. Reid, who is also in a certain sense a Presidential representative. A few weeks ago he was thought to be a tremendous expansionist, but a magazine article published by him since, coupled with the cessation of expansionist articles in his newspaper, have shown that he is susceptible of change. Mr. Gray was a strong opponent of Hawaiian annexation, and is put on as a representative of the Democratic party (itself as a whole, so far as known, rather against expansion). Messrs. Davis and Frye are fire-eaters, and what they would like is known. Mr. Day's views on the subject of retaining the Philippines are supposed to be those of Mr. McKinley, and what these are is known only to Mr. McKinley himself—if, indeed, to him. Whatever the result, any treaty which Mr. Gray should refuse to sign would go through the Senate with a "black eye," and would hardly give that unanimous delight throughout the country which it is Mr. McKinley's peculiar function to stimulate.

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The Chief of the Treasury Bureau of Statistics, Mr. Austin, has just returned from Porto Rico, and has made public admission of the melancholy fact that the island has been already pretty well "taken up." Its population is now "more dense than that of Massachusetts," and the prospect of materially increasing its productiveness is "not flattering." Where there is no waste land, Americans do not readily go, and probably Porto Rico will not be changed very much by annexation, for the substance of the law and customs of the place will remain Spanish, whoever collects the taxes or pays the clergy their salaries. Mr. Austin is quoted, however, as mentioning one reason for annexation not hitherto thought of, which has not only a political but a geological interest: "Torn by great natural movements from the mainland of which this chain of islands doubtless formed a part, she is now restored by another great natural movement, which is reuniting the continents and countries and islands in a system of republics having one great purpose of coöperation and mutual advancement."

President Jordan of Stanford University has written a letter on the subject of Philippine annexation—a supplement to his recent address to the graduating class of the University. "The vast majority of the people of the Philippines," he says, "are utterly indifferent to all questions outlasting the present moment. The most of them have never yet heard of Spain, still less of the United States, and the native tribes are as well fitted for American institutions as so many monkeys would be." He gives three main reasons against all assumption of *imperialism* by the United States, viz.: "(1) Dominion is brute force; (2) dependent nations are slave nations; and (3) the making of men is greater than the building of empires." He considers the project of dividing the Philippines, taking one island and leaving the rest to Spain, or giving them to some other Power, chimerical. Yet he thinks that it is not practicable to turn them back to Spain. In his view, the situation is the familiar one where one road leads to hell and the other to damnation.

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According to the Manila correspondent of the London *Times*, telegraphing on the 9th, Aguinaldo has got possession of almost the whole island of Luzon, except that portion occupied by the American troops, and besides this he holds more than nine thousand Spanish prisoners, several thousand rifles, some cannon, a large quantity of ammunition, and several small armed steamers. The insurgents are even encroaching upon Manila itself, and making it necessary for Gen. Otis to remind them that they must keep their distance. According to the same correspondent, Aguinaldo's intention is to possess himself of all the rest of the Philippines while we hold Manila, and thus strengthen the case for our withdrawal from the islands before the peace commission. He has evidently picked up some knowledge of "*uti possidetis*," and means to find out what there is "in it for him." One thing is perfectly clear, that it will be impossible for us to insist on retaining the Philippine group on the ground of military possession, if we are not in possession. The situation is bad for trade.

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Our Commissioners in Hawaii are finding out a good deal about the wishes of the natives respecting territorial government, and incidentally much else. One difficulty is met everywhere. The natives say, and with undoubted truth, that annexation of their islands was a "war measure." So they ask if, when the war is over, annexation will be over too. Senator Cullom explains this point to their darkened minds. He always begins by addressing them as "fellow-citizens." This, with his likeness to Abraham Lincoln, never fails to awaken applause. But the Hawaiians do not seem greatly interested in our peripatetic orators. They are said not to like Morgan's speeches in the least, which, in so far, is a striking sign of their fitness for self-government. The real reason of their indifference to our Commissioners, however, was that their ex-Queen was also travelling about the islands. Towards our Senators (we are following the *Sun's* dispatch) they showed only "childlike curiosity," but they flocked about their Queen with the greatest enthusiasm, offering her fruit and flowers by the canoe-load, and paying her every imaginable tribute of affection anl loyalty. All this is said to have greatly "impressed" the Commissioners, as one would think it would. And our religious annexationists should be impressed by the fact that the natives refused to go into "the great white church of Kailua, the oldest Christian church in the islands." They had a foolish notion in their heads that this church was somehow a symbol of the foreign power that had robbed them of land and nationality.

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What the Hawaiian planters expect of us in the way of government is also being impressed upon our Commissioners. These growers of coffee and sugar are not at all strenuous on questions of suffrage or representation, but they want their taxes lightened, and "improvements" to help them to make their crops productive. For example, they would like the United States to build at once a good road (if not a railroad) from the coast to each man's plantation, and to establish ("subsidize" is the word they use) a line of steamers between San Francisco and Hilo. Here at least are signs of our paternal government being welcomed and appreciated as it deserves to be. But what a ridiculous pretension is that of the 21,616 Chinese resident in the islands. They have had the impudence to petition our Commissioners that their existing property and personal rights under Hawaiian law be not abridged. If their fellow-citizen, Senator Cullom, is not equal to setting them right on this point, a copy of the speech of their other fellow-citizen, Senator Hoar, should be read to them so that they may understand the real situation. It is one of the rules of the colonial game that 21,000 Chinese have no rights which 3,000 Americans are bound to respect; and the sooner our various subject races find this out, the better for them.

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President McKinley has made one of

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those compromises dear to his heart in his disposition of the War Department scandal. What was wanted was a thorough investigation, which would cover the whole field, by men who would command the confidence of the nation. What is granted is only permission to have a partial inquiry made, by a body of men the composition of which is not yet settled, and which will have no power to enforce testimony. By the terms of the official announcement, the inquiry is to be restricted to "the conduct of the Commissary, Quartermaster, and Medical Bureaus of the War Department during the war, and the extent, cause, and treatment of sickness in the field and in the camp." This takes it for granted that there is nothing to find fault with outside of these three bureaus, and that the office of the Secretary of War is beyond criticism. In view of the fact that it is the management of the War Department by Secretary Alger which has aroused public sentiment to the practically universal demand for an investigation which would really investigate, it is a fatal blunder to remove the conduct of the chief offender from the scope of the inquiry. Under such conditions the ablest and fairest board could not do work which would command the public confidence, and the present outlook is that the President will not succeed in securing a commission which will personally carry great weight. Moreover, half-way work in the line of investigation will not end the matter. Whatever the President's commission may do, Congress will undoubtedly order an inquiry next winter which will cover the whole field. The Administration will very likely use its influence to prevent any action by Congress, but it will not be able to succeed. The Democrats will press the issue, and the Republicans will not dare to resist the demand. Indeed, Republican Congressmen are already pledging their constituents that they will call for an investigation by the House of Representatives next winter.

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How did Alger ever get into the cabinet? This is a question which was asked with languid curiosity by everybody when he was appointed Secretary of War, and which is pressed with much more earnestness now that he has involved the Administration in contumely. There was nothing in Alger's career as a soldier in the civil war to entitle him to consideration, for he had been dismissed from the army after making a wretched record. There was nothing in his political relations to require his recognition, for he was utterly "played out." There was no reason of personal friendship, for it is well known that Mr. McKinley never liked him. What, then, explains the mystery of his "pull"? An editorial article in the Hartford *Times*, written by a man who seems to "know what he is talking about," thus tells a story which, as the article says, "has been 'current on the inside,'" and which is entirely credible:

> "There is 'a politician on the shelf' in Ohio, named Charles Foster, who, as Secretary of the Treasury in Harrison's cabinet, was regarded as about the weakest man who ever held that place. He was reputed to be a millionaire banker, but, after retiring from the cabinet, his various enterprises went to smash, and he entered the lists of the 'financially ruined,' his neighbors sharing his losses to a very large extent. In his efforts to pull through his embarrassments, Foster received certain financial aid from his friend Russell A. Alger, the Michigan lumberman. And how was the debt paid? Foster, as an ex-Governor of Ohio, ex-member of Congress, and ex-Secretary of the Treasury, still had a few friends in the Ohio Legislature, and by the control of these votes he was able to serve notice on McKinley and Hanna that in order to elect the latter a Senator it would be necessary to give Alger a place in McKinley's cabinet."

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As the September election in Vermont has long proved a trustworthy political barometer as to the drift of public sentiment throughout the country, the first feature of last week's election to engage notice was the maintenance of the Democratic vote at the level of two years ago, while the Republican vote had fallen off 25 per cent. But there was another element in the case which is of great interest, alike as an evidence of independent voting and as proof of a change of sentiment regarding the best treatment of the liquor problem. The Democrats elected nearly 50 Representatives to the Legislature, as against only 17 in 1896, and the majority of these members owe their success to support from Republicans who at the same time voted for the Republican candidate for Governor. Thus, Norwich stood 135 Republican to 61 Democratic for Governor, but elected a Democratic Representative on the issue of substituting a license law for the present policy of prohibition; Rockingham went Republican for Governor almost two to one (441 to 229), but Democratic for Representative; and Bennington Republican for Governor, 720 to 443, but Democratic for Representative by 132 majority. In the city of St. Albans, where the Republican candidate for Governor lives, the majority of the party for the head of the State ticket was over 500, but so many Republicans were in favor of the repeal of the prohibitory law that, if about 60 more had joined him on this issue, the Democratic candidate for Representative would have been elected.

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Four years ago this month the Maine Republicans polled 82,596 votes for Governor, and the Democrats 34,350. Returns from 150 towns, casting about 40 per cent. of the total poll, now show only 23,662 Republican votes, against 30,160 in 1894, while the Democratic vote is fully maintained—12,242 now, against 12,175 then. As the more remote towns are heard from, the percentage of Republican loss increases, so that the latest indications are for a Republican plurality of only about 22,500 this year, against 48,246 four years ago. In other words, the unorganized and demoralized Democracy, at the end of a spiritless campaign, hold their own, as compared with the last election midway in a Presidential term, while the Republicans, strong in machinery for "getting out the vote," and presumptively strengthened by the war record of their national Administration, lose 20 to 25 per cent. This is practically the same thing that happened in Vermont a week before. The moral of the Maine election, reinforcing as it thus does that in Vermont, is plain. It shows that the "tidal wave" which rose in the congressional elections of 1894 and swept everything before it in the national contest of 1896, has lost its force, and that the current already sets the other way. It demonstrates that the war as a piece of political strategy was worse than a blunder. It is a warning to Republicans that the next House is in doubt.

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Commissioner Evans's annual pension report showed a remarkable increase in pensions granted, but, Lord love you! the Grand Army makes no account of this, and is raging against "comrade William McKinley" for keeping up an "iniquitous rule" which prevents worthy men from getting pensions. It seems that there are some cunning "technicalities" enforced by the iniquitous rule—such as requiring a man to show that he was ever in the army—and it was largely, says the Grand Army report on pensions, to abolish these technicalities that the Presidential campaign of 1896 was fought and won. Yet, to the amazement and indignation of veterans, here is comrade William McKinley enforcing the very rule that roused their wrath against non-comrade Grover Cleveland. Yet they charitably hope—which is their adroit way of expressing a threat—that when comrade William "is once relieved from the mighty matters of national and world-wide importance which now command his attention, he will see that justice is done."

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An English naval officer expresses his admiration of one minor feature of Admiral Sampson's operations. This was the daily issue on the flag-ship of bulletins for the information of the squadron. The system was originated by Capt. Chadwick, it seems. On a small hand-press the bulletins were printed, and distribution made as far as possible throughout the fleet. All that could be told without injury of the movements of vessels, the whereabouts of the enemy, the general plan of operations, etc., was told; the idea being, of course, to appeal to the intelligence of the men as well as to rely upon their unquestioning obedience to orders. This is

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only a recognition of the fact that the men at the guns and in the engine-rooms think and reason as truly as the men on the bridge, and can be counted upon for greater alacrity and more effective coöperation if the officers do not make a mystery and a monopoly of their information. It may be true that, as the sailor said who was captured with Hobson, men in the American navy do not know, and do not seek to know, the reason of the orders given them to execute; but there can be no doubt that they will appreciate every tribute to their intelligence, and will fight the better for knowing what they are expected to do and why they fight.

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Sagasta evidently has the Cortes well in hand. He makes the Senate sit in secret session, which of itself is a great discourager of eloquence bent on rousing the country. He also, as was foreshadowed, refuses to lay before the Cortes any of the official documents relating to the war or to the negotiations for peace. To do so would be "inimical to the public interests." All that he wants of the Cortes is that it pass a bill enabling him in a constitutional manner to alienate national territory. Do that, he says, and then I will prorogue you instanter, and will summon you again and tell you all when peace is finally established. It is clear that the Cortes will be compelled to acquiesce. The reason is that the country is absolutely indifferent. Señor Moret, late Minister for the Colonies, has been travelling about in the interior a good deal, and he says the people care for nothing except to be let alone and allowed to work and given no more fighting to do. Moret also affirms that the final terms of peace, no matter how hard they may be, will be accepted by the country and the Cortes. There will be much muttering by Carlists and Republicans, but the inevitable will be bowed to in the end; Sagasta will get his way and secure endorsement for all his measures, and then retire to let who will undertake the reorganization of the finances.

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The news from the Sudan is not all happy and glorious. The little bit of anxiety which came from the news that the Khalifa's gunboat had been driven off by a French force at Fashoda, is now increased by the news that the French force at that place has been reinforced, and that they may have to be turned out by hook or by crook. This is all the more disquieting because the public, some time ago, was led to believe that the French-African disputes with England had been amicably settled, and that no more trouble in that quarter was to be feared. If the story of the occupation of Fashoda be true, however, it would appear either that the French Foreign Office had not full control over its subordinates in Africa, or that Lord Salisbury had been again imposed on by sweet words. This trouble has, however, hung on so long that the British public is rather out of patience, and it would take very little, on the top of the national pride in the triumph of the army in the Sudan, to precipitate some kind of hostile action on the Nile. The revelations, too, in the Dreyfus affair have begotten in England a certain mixture of disgust and contempt for the French nation, which will make peacemaking difficult, if anything has gone wrong. There is, also, a small Abyssinian cloud on the horizon which is causing some uneasiness. French or Russian intriguing to get Menelek to interfere with Kitchener's triumphal progress is strongly suspected, and Menelek has 200,000 good fighting men on Kitchener's flank, and is of a jealous temperament.

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The rioting and massacres in Crete will sharply remind the British Government that imperialism has its drawbacks as well as its glories. If you want constant occupation for soldiers and ships, and an unending succession of vexing questions in government and of international complications, there is nothing like imperialism for giving them to you. The only wonder is that the troubles in Crete did not come to a climax sooner. For more than a year has the concert of Europe been trying to settle upon a government for that unhappy island, but it has not yet been able to agree. Consequently there has been only a very remarkable kind of temporary condominium, or international police to keep order—so many British marines and ships, so many French, Russian, and Italian. Germany became disgusted with the absurd situation some time ago, and withdrew her contingent. Doubtless the rioters will be put down speedily and order restored; but it is not only the Mussulmans who will say that the present system of governing Crete is intolerable, and that the concert of Europe must soon find a better one or take its hands off entirely.

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The Czar's proposals of disarmament are not the first that have been laid before Europe. In 1864 Napoleon III. took up the matter. When opening the French Chambers in that year, he spoke of Europe as in a condition which was "neither peace with its security, nor war with its happy chances," and said he would strive to secure an international congress in which "self-interest would disappear before a supreme arbitration." All the Powers responded favorably to Napoleon's advances except England. Lord John Russell was then in office, and doubted Napoleon's sincerity. It was his opposition which brought the whole plan to the ground. But England, in her turn, made a proposition five years later for reducing military forces. Lord Clarendon, alarmed at the growth of the French and German armies, opened communications with various countries to see if a simultaneous diminution of armed forces could not be made. France agreed to reduce her army by 10,000 men if Germany would do the same; but Bismarck refused to do anything, maintaining that the German army was smaller than the French in proportion to population. So this scheme fell through also. Speaking of it later in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone made some remarks which are not without pertinence now:

> "Lord Clarendon believed—and I shared his belief then, as I still share it—that if you could gather the p'enipotentiaries of Europe round a table to hear a discussion on disarmament, their meetings would end in no substantial result, and that the only way in which a measure of disarmament can be initiated is in detail. It is to take advantage of some occasion when particular countries are in face of each other, burdening their own people, exhausting their own resources, and endangering peace, to endeavor to prevail on them, relatively to these particular circumstances, to pursue a more rational course. . . . To address other Powers on this subject is a very serious step. It was necessary that we should stand *recti in curia*, and that we should not be met with the remark, 'What are you doing yourselves? You preach the gospel of peace, but are your hands free from the stain of blood?'"

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The assassination of the Empress of Austria will bring Europe once more face to face with the old problem, what to do with the Anarchists. If they were a discontented sect or party with definite grievances, there might be some way of dealing with them, but the difficulty is that they cannot say definitely what ails them. They cannot go further than to declare that they hate everybody who is better off than themselves, and that they are ready to die in order to show it. As the people who are better off than themselves include the wealthy and respectable and industrious of all climes, it is hard to know what reply to make. This particular kind of human being has been held in check since the earliest ages by fear of death and torture, but we have abolished torture, and in many places death, as punishments, and the Anarchists apparently do not fear death. Hell used to be supposed to have a deterrent effect on such people, but hell has become a kind of joke which they enjoy as much as others. Advice or counsel they reject if it comes from the class to which society has as a rule assigned the function of giving advice—that is, the educated and well-to-do and elderly; the class, in short, which is content with the world as it now is. There is no doubt that this tragedy will send a thrill of horror through every palace in Europe. It seems to mean that even women, if highly placed, will have to be surrounded by police when they walk abroad, or live like the Pope in a huge walled garden.

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### *HOW TO DO IT AND HOW NOT TO DO IT.*

Before the extraordinary Egyptian campaign of Gen. Kitchener passes from memory, the real significance of it for students of the art of war, such as Americans in a body are now supposed to be, should be dwelt upon again and again. It was a masterpiece of mathematics that Kitchener executed, as fine a bit of scientific application of means to ends as ever Moltke exhibited. Of course, no one expected that the Dervishes would come out of their intrenchments and away from their few Krupp guns and try the old game of rushing a British square bristling with machine guns. But Kitchener was as ready for that as he was for assaulting the works of Omdurman, if it had proved necessary; and the precision of his artillery fire was only a part of the deadly and fated precision and smoothness with which his whole plan moved on to triumphant execution.

Now the thing for us to observe is that this splendid stroke of war was the result of months and years of the severest and most skilled preparation—a preparation, furthermore, left absolutely unhampered by political influences. Sir Herbert Kitchener was chosen to head the expedition because he was the one man pointed out by experience and special services in Egypt as precisely fitted for the work. Then he was given a perfectly free hand in planning the campaign and selecting his lieutenants. The enormous difficulties he had to overcome were surmounted so easily that we are apt to forget how enormous they were. Major Arthur Griffiths details some of them in his article in the *Fortnightly*, written, of course, before the event at Khartum was known. There was, first of all, the tremendous obstacle of distance. From the base at Cairo to the arsenal and storehouse at Wady Halfa is 800 miles; thence to Berber is upwards of 300 miles more. Along this line of 1,100 miles had to be carried every ounce of powder, every gun, every ration, by boat and improvised railway and on camel-back. Our shipping troops and supplies to Santiago and Porto Rico was child's play in comparison. And the fierceness of climate was almost as great as that we had to face in Cuba. Where the battle was finally fought, the mercury reaches 100 every day. But everything was provided in advance with such foresight, preparation went hand in hand with execution with such marvellous intelligence, that Kitchener was enabled to announce long beforehand the day of his capture of Omdurman. In the result, he was, we believe, but one day out in his reckoning—but that was one day ahead of his schedule! For that he doubtless had to thank the rashness of the Dervishes in putting their trust in prayer and Allah and marching out to be mowed down instead of awaiting assault.

But the crucial point for Americans to observe in all this wonderful exactness of preparation is that there was no bedevilling of the campaign with politics. Major Griffiths says that Kitchener was left absolutely the choice of his officers and aides.

> "He has ever tried to get the best assistance possible; he is a judge of character, and he has been very fair and public-spirited in the use of his patronage. A service which offers large promises of promotion and distinction has been eagerly sought after. *Great pressure, political and social*, has been brought to bear upon the man who really controlled nominations; for the Sirdar's recommendations have been invariably respected at the War Office. But in no case has aught but merit availed, and the result is that the officers now serving in Egypt are 'the pick of the basket,' the brightest and best in the Queen's service."

Here we see that human nature is not different in England from what it is here—the "pull" in politics is just as eagerly sought there as here; but the great fact is that, in military matters, it is not allowed to work. Secretary Brodrick was just as much beset by "social and political pressure" as was Secretary Alger, and the blandishments that were lavished upon Miles and McKinley to secure appointments to the army by favor were tried equally upon Kitchener. The difference was not in exemption from "pressure," but in the way of meeting it. Not one subordinate was forced upon Kitchener. Not a single officer was detailed for service on any ground but that of merit. No wonder the campaign went off like clockwork. There were no politicians "monkeying" with the works.

The contrast we present is painful, but it is necessary to rub it into the public mind, and show how politics worked out its native mischiefs in the disasters which have marked the mismanagement of our War Department. Otherwise we shall be falling into the same ditch the next time. Compared with the way in which "political and social pressure" simply broke its teeth on the military authorities in England, look at our Capt. Alger and Major Foraker and Lieut. Sewell and Capt. Brice and Major Griscom and Lieut. Hobart, and all the rest. We do not pretend to have got the titles of these young men straight. Whatever their rank, they might just as reasonably have been appointed field marshals and done with it. The point is that competence and merit were thrown to the winds, and politics and the social "pull" given free sway in the army. The result was never for a moment in doubt. Army experts prophesied the breakdown which came in the very departments to which these favorites were assigned. Doubtless, the President and the Secretary of War thought they were very astute in making appointments to conciliate all forms of sentiment; but what they were really doing was to create the conditions grimly summarized by a sick and starving soldier of the regular army: "There's been too much d——d politics in this war. Too many young fellers are strutting around Washington with shoulder-straps on who don't know their business."

Khartum and Santiago write a contrast in campaigning which Americans may take to heart. We are certainly in for a larger army establishment for some time to come. Already there is welcome talk by army authorities about the urgent need of reorganizing the bureaus and departments. A transport system must be built up in such a way as to make *Seneca* horrors impossible. More perfect dovetailing between the commissariat and the medical service and the Quartermaster-General must be devised. Gen. Wheeler has spoken strongly about the more pressing demands of the army in the field as such. But when all is done we shall not get rid of the curse of the army until we get politics out of it. Perfect the machine as you may, a few blundering incompetents, foisted into office through political and social influences, will wreck it. The English War Office has shown us how to do it, just as Alger has given a perfect demonstration of how not to do it. If we would have an army that can go through war and come out with as fine a record and as free from scandals as the navy, we must make it like the navy in being the home of skilled intelligence and absolutely free from the slime of politics.

### *THE CASE OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILROAD.*

The opinion rendered by the Interstate Commerce Commission in the matter of the differential rates claimed by the Canadian Pacific Railroad illustrates in a very striking way the confusion that now prevails in our railroad law. The case originated in the determination of the trunk lines in the Northwestern part of the United States to obtain what they regarded as a fair share of the business to the Klondike region. Before this business arose, the Canadian Pacific had been allowed by some roads a "differential rate" on through passengers of from $5 to $7.50, and had made a regular treaty with its chief rival, the Great Northern Railroad, for various mutual considerations. Then came the decision of the Supreme Court pronouncing illegal all agreements concerning rates; and as the rush to the Klondike began soon after, the rivals of the Canadian Pacific began to sell tickets at from $10 to $15 less than their tariff rates, the concessions being made by increasing the commissions of ticket agents. The Canadian road retaliated by reducing its rates still lower, until a first-class ticket from Boston to Seattle was sold in March, for $35, and all the roads, of course, lost much of the profits of the unusually large business of the season.

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At an early stage of the fight the Canadian road offered to submit the question of differentials to arbitration, provided the old rates should be meanwhile restored, but the other lines declined the proposal. It was then renewed without any condition, and was considered favorably by all the roads except the Great Northern, whose abstention prevented the adoption of the plan. Meanwhile the United States roads had obtained from the Interstate Commission the suspension of the "long and short-haul clause," in order to lower their through rates as much as they pleased. There had previously been a very remarkable episode, to which the Commerce Commission does not allude. It was the surreptitious insertion in the Dingley tariff act of a clause which would have practically excluded the Canadian roads from doing business in this country. This proceeding is commonly supposed to have been instigated by the Great Northern Road, and was rendered unavailing only by a construction put on the clause by Attorney-General McKenna, which was by no means the least remarkable feature of the whole affair. As a last resort the United States roads appealed to the Commerce Commission, and the Canadian Pacific Road consented to appear before that body and to have the whole controversy investigated. The commission, of course, had merely advisory powers in such a matter, but all the roads seem to have wished that these powers might be exercised.

The commission now finds that there was nothing outrageous in the conduct of the Canadian road, as charged by its rivals. While there may have been reasons why the differential in this case should not have been granted, yet in claiming it the Canadian road did nothing more than had been done by all the others. Its rivals, the Northern Pacific and Great Northern, the commission declares, "cut their rates in wilful violation of the law, and thereby not only abolished the differential, but took a substantial differential for themselves." Nor does the commission see anything wrong in the present attitude of the Canadian Pacific Road respecting the settlement of the question. It refuses to hold that a Canadian road should in no case charge less than a road in the United States, as by so holding the benefits of Canadian competition might be destroyed. Whether the Canadian roads should be allowed to participate in the business of this country is a broad question, the determination of which should be left to the High Joint Commission, now in session at Quebec, and to Congress. The claims of the United States roads that the Canadian Pacific enjoys special privileges from our Government by reason of exemption from taxes, and that on the general principles of the protective policy our roads should enjoy special favor, receive little consideration from the commission.

Coming to the main question of differential rates, the commission finds that at present the conditions under which the Canadian Pacific operates are so favorable that it labors under no relative disadvantage. There is no reason, therefore, why the former differential should be allowed. But, the commission points out, it has no power either to allow or to disallow the differential in dispute. It insists that it must be distinctly understood that it cannot recommend the settlement of this controversy "by the making of any agreement, involving arbitration or otherwise, which is in violation of the anti-Trust law, as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court." Here is the crux. The decision of that court in the Trans-Missouri case stands squarely across the path of settlement of this and every other controversy about railroad rates. That decision prohibits all agreements between railroad companies concerning their charges, whether they be reasonable or unreasonable. Its scope is so broad that no step in the direction or terminating railroad wars is legal. So far as the law is concerned, the existence of controversies over rates is not recognized. Every railroad must fix its rates without agreement or understanding with any other, and the very idea of arbitration is absurd. Were arbitrators to recommend any agreement concerning differentials, it would be illegal for the railroads to accept their decision, and it would be encouraging the violation of law for the arbitrators to render it.

While this is technically true, it must be said that the consequences of this unfortunate decision are so absurd as practically to nullify its force. The railroads come before the Commerce Commission and openly state that they have made agreements to maintain certain rates, and ask the aid of the commission in enforcing these illegal agreements. The commission extends this aid to a certain extent by suspending the long-and-short-haul clause, and practically recognizes differential rates as proper, whether lawful or not. Here, as in many other cases, it is a deplorable fact that our legislatures enact laws of such character as to make it impossible to do business without violating them, and a very large part of the trade of the country is, if not illegal, at least extra-legal. This result constitutes an instructive commentary on the desire of the Interstate Commerce Commission to enlarge its jurisdiction. It complains that its decisions have not the authority of the judgments of a court; but have they not as much authority as the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Trans-Missouri case? The appeal of the great railroads to this commission in the Canadian Pacific case is very significant. It was practically a submission of the question to arbitration, and it may be doubted if the Commerce Commission can be of more service in any other capacity than in that of a board of arbitrators. If they accept this office and discharge it well, the railroads will resort to them, and will be driven by public opinion to accept their awards. It is true that their awards will have no legal validity, but neither do the agreements of the railroads have any legal validity. As such agreements are made and will continue to be made, in spite of laws prohibiting them, there seems no impropriety in submitting questions arising under them to a tribunal whose mandates have no legal sanction.

## *THE CURRENCY MOVEMENT.*

The payment of gold in large amounts into the Treasury for regular public dues has now become a phenomenon of first-rate importance. How rapidly the use of gold for this purpose is increasing may be judged by current returns of Treasury balances. During the whole month of August, the Government's gold reserve increased $26,400,000; during the first week in September, it made a further increase of $23,700,000. It is, in fact, now rising at the rate of three to four million dollars daily, and if a heavy gold import movement presently begins, in the face of the harvest demand for small currency West and South, we may expect to see the public dues paid almost entirely in gold. The Treasury's gold reserve has long since passed the highest figure of its history. In March, 1888, this reserve touched $218,800,000; it is now above $230,000,000, and is rising rapidly. This is so striking an incident in itself, and contrasts so curiously with the constant drain of gold from the Treasury between 1890 and 1896, that it deserves some special examination.

We find two superficial explanations advanced to account for this singular situation. It is said, to begin with, that our foreign trade has for two years yielded so large a credit balance in our favor that gold imports in quantity have made that form of money the most available for use in banking settlements. Second, it is alleged that the Treasury is now absorbing, through its revenue and bond subscriptions, so large a total sum of money that it has left in circulation not enough currency other than gold coin to provide for the current needs of trade.

Now it is true, of course, that the use of gold in quantity for settlement of Treasury dues is encouraged by the increase in the stock of gold on hand. But it does not follow, because the banks have plenty of gold on hand, that they will necessarily use it for such payments. All other things being equal, they would certainly prefer to use the legal tenders, which are readily portable

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and thus more convenient for delivery. Nor is it true that the Treasury has absorbed so large a part of the country's paper circulation that not enough is left for the needs of trade. As a matter of fact, the Treasury's balances of silver certificates and legal tenders is less by $15,000,000 than it was a year ago this week.

The truth of the matter is not difficult to discover. There is a relative scarcity of legal tenders outside the Treasury, and this in spite of the fact that the Government has reduced its holdings of such money. The New York banks a year ago held $102,130,000 legal tender, or twice as much as at the present moment, and yet within four weeks, when interior trade grew active during the harvest season, they lost fully one-third of such legal-tender holdings. Naturally, under such circumstances, the banks are reluctant to part with legal tenders to the Government, when it is "small money" which the West and South always demand for the use of their autumn trade. This fact explains why the banks are settling their public dues in gold, of which they hold $56,000,000 more than they held twelve months ago, and not in legal tender.

But the question still remains, What has become of the surplus legal tender—the fifty millions lost by the New York banks, the fifteen millions by the Treasury? The answer is, that interior trade, interior wealth, and interior bank deposits have so far enlarged under the prosperous business of the last two years that constant use in their own channels of industry is found by the West and South for a vastly larger sum of money. Much of this smaller currency has gone into the pockets of the more prosperous inhabitants of those sections, and is staying there. A good deal has been retained by the interior banks to strengthen their cash reserves against the largely increased deposits of local customers. Much also was sent in the summer season for deposit with larger city institutions, whence it can readily be recalled. By last month's showing of the Comptroller of the Currency, such deposits were $30,000,000 larger than they were a year before.

All this movement is perfectly natural. When trade is active and individual profits large, more actual money is needed, and more will be obtained, than in a season of dulness and business losses; and this rule equally applies to nations, sections, States, and towns. The simple record of clearing-house exchanges for all points outside of New York city showed in August a gain of 9½ per cent. over August, 1897, and in 1897 the same month's gain over 1896 was no less than 20 per cent. Nothing is more entirely normal, under such conditions, than the withdrawal of paper money from both the Eastern banks and the public Treasury, and its retention in interior circulation. Nothing, again, is more natural than that the Eastern banks, thus depleted of their currency reserves, should draw on the outside world to replace such loss with gold, and should use the gold for settlements with the Treasury.

Should there now occur, as we hardly apprehend, a genuine scarcity of legal tender, something may yet be heard of the advocates of an increased Government paper-money circulation. The Treasury notes of 1890 were authorized in response to a similar demand, under rather similar conditions. But the authors of the act of 1890 forgot that under our present laws Government currency, once issued, cannot be reduced in volume, whereas the trade which fully employs that currency to-day may shrink in another year to the most meagre proportions. This was precisely the result of the experiment of 1890. Instead of sending legal tenders to the interior, the Eastern banks, in a year or two, were overflowing with surplus currency returned from the West and South, where trade no longer called for the increased supply. Instead of importing gold from Europe to supply a vacuum in our Eastern currency supply, the city money markets were so overcrowded with reserves that gold flowed steadily out across the ocean. Instead of using gold for every kind of payment to the Treasury, the banks employed for the purpose the superfluous and constantly increasing legal tenders, with the resultant crumbling of the Treasury's gold reserve.

What has happened once may happen again, and is extremely likely some time to happen unless the currency system is adapted to the legitimate needs of trade. In a country of so vast extent as ours, and with such diversity of interests, we shall be constantly swinging from one evil to the other—confronted one year with a domestic currency too small for the needs of a year of heavy trade, and another year with a paper circulating medium so utterly out of proportion to such requirements as to force a wholesale expulsion of standard money from the country. There is, it seems to us, no possible escape from such a situation save in the adoption of such a currency as will adjust itself to a season's trade requirements, and no one has yet discovered any such system except through bank-note issues.

## "THE SEA POWER."

KESWICK, ENG., August 30, 1898.

There could not be a better proof of Capt. Mahan's literary skill than the way he has roused both England and America about the value of the "sea power." A great many of his readers really think he has made a great discovery, and that not only is he an acute historian and charming narrator, but that he is, in a certain sense, the revealer to the world of the secret of national supremacy. He has, in the eyes of many people, made it clear that the true road to national greatness is the construction of navies large enough to give the command of the sea, and thus insure a full line of transmarine possessions, islands, forts, and coaling stations. No matter how much territory, how many ports and vessels you may have, if you do not have some foreign possessions, to be held by the aid of the "sea power," you are "nowhere," as the boys say.

Now the state of things is simply this. At the beginning of this century, Prussia discovered the "land power"—that is, that there was no national greatness, or even safety, without putting all the young men of the country under arms. The success of this was so great, as a military measure, that it went on growing in favor until it finally won the battle of Sadowa. Every nation, except England, then followed suit. All began vying with each other in the number of men they could put in the ranks of a standing army. There had to be more cavalry, or more artillery, or more infantry, because some neighbor or presumed enemy had more, and the game of competition went merrily on until it was brought to a standstill by the want of more young men and the need of hands for the ordinary business of life. It is safe to say that in France, Italy, Germany, and Russia to-day there is not a young man to spare from the work of agriculture and manufactures. Europe is literally in arms. The "land power" has been brought to its last possible limits. And no wonder.

No matter what may be said about the "sea power," it requires a good deal of special pleading to make the world think meanly of the "land power"—that is, of great masses of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. All the great wars of the world down to Waterloo were carried on by land power—Alexander's, the Barbarian invasion of Rome, the Mohammedan overthrow of Greek civilization, the English triumphs in France in the fifteenth century, Marlboro's triumphs in the Low Countries, Napoleon's conquest of Europe. Napoleon's greatest victories were won after he had lost his navy. Last of all, the Germans fought their way to Paris while the French were in complete possession of the seas. Of course, all this may be explained away, and some sort of rôle conceded for the sea power; but the world has been persuaded by the experience of three thousand years, not that God is "with the big ships," but that he is with the "big battalions," and has gone on cultivating the big battalions until the whole system has broken down, by its own weight, and produced the recent extraordinary invitation from the Emperor of Russia to stop it for the sake of civilization, just as we are beginning the mad race.

This invitation did not come, however, until there had been ten or twelve years' vigorous cultivation of the "sea power." About fifteen years ago the European Powers began trying to outdo each other in the building of ironclads and inventing new guns. Within ten years America has joined in the struggle, and we are yelling with triumph over our new navy, and Captain Mahan is trying to show us that the more of it we have, the better off we shall be. But is there any historical foundation for this belief? I venture to assert that it is not the number of the ships or guns which has given the sea power to any people at any

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time, but the character of the people themselves and the government which owned the fleets. For three centuries the Spaniards had the sea power and a great colonial system, and were all the while marching steadily to their ruin. The great Armada that was fitted out for the invasion of England at the close of the sixteenth century was the greatest display of sea power, considering the state of navigation at the time, ever made, and how did it end? It was speedily disposed of by a few free Protestants in small ships—that is, by character and institutions. A few years later—that is, in 1607—the Dutch, then a poor, small people which had just emerged from a hideous war with Philip on account of their religion, faced the Spaniards on the sea, and the Spaniards had still the "sea power." The Spanish Admiral had a large fleet, and was cruising off Gibraltar to keep the Dutch out of the Mediterranean, and was so sure of victory that he invited one hundred and fifty Spanish gentlemen to join him, to see the enemy get his thrashing. The fight lasted eight hours. Here is Sully's account of the result, and he was a contemporary:

"The Dutch remained victorious, and found the victory had cost them only two ships and about 250 men. The Spaniards lost sixteen ships, three consumed by fire, and the rest sunk by the cannonade; also, 35 captains of ships, 50 of the volunteer 'gentlemen,' and 2,800 soldiers and sailors. . . . All Spain was filled with horror."

We see here it was the Armada and Trafalgar and Manila and Santiago over again. For four centuries the Spaniards had a splendid sea power—estimated by the number of ships and weight of artillery, greater than the rest of Europe put together—and what good did it do them? It simply developed pretensions and invited attacks which hastened their ruin and destroyed the national character. While they were building big ships and burning heretics, Englishmen were learning the lessons of freedom and industry and science and literature and toleration, and we see the result. Spain had a fine fleet at the outbreak of the late war, and it inspired apprehensions even among our naval men. People were afraid to hire houses on the coast for the summer. It appeared that both officers and crews "knew how to die"—that is, they knew how to let themselves be slaughtered like sheep—but what else did they know? No wonder we are fêting Cervera. He could not have served us better if he had drawn a salary from us. Conquering such men is very like whacking seals on the head at the Pribyloff Islands.

Now why did England begin to excel in the "land power" in the fifteenth century? Why were Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt great victories, even against tremendous, almost ridiculous, odds? For precisely the same reason that she now excels in the "sea power." Bacon gives it in the 'Essays.' I am unable to cite the passage at this moment, for I have no books at hand, but it is easily found. He says the superiority of the English soldiers to the French was due to the fact that in England the yeoman, the farmer, who took down his bow and bill to follow the King to his wars, was more of a man, more independent and self-respecting than the French peasant; that in England the common man counted for more, the gentleman for less. The men who, as Latimer said, "made all France afraid," were men like his father, who brought up his family in decency, gave them an education, feared God and honored the King, and respected himself—not a poor, down-trodden peasant, dragged to the field by his seigneur. It is this which has for centuries been the salvation of England. She owes her superiority, in short, to her freedom, her laws, her spirit of justice, her love of industry; not to the "sea power." The sea power has come, owing to the spirit which repelled the Armada, not the ability to repel the Armada or fight Trafalgar to the sea power. It is only recently that England has had what it is now the fashion to call the "sea power"—that is, superiority in number of ships and sailors. She has, of course, apparently made this a necessity by the extent of her possessions, but it is not by it she has won the possessions.

To this, too, I take it, America owes that skill in the use of the navy, and that goodness of American troops in the field as shown at Santiago, according to all observers, not to drilling and manœuvring or getting ready for war. How is it we have such readiness to fight and even such eagerness to fight in a good cause? Why do other Powers shrink from getting into a quarrel with us? Simply because a century's peaceful industry has given us tremendous resources, and because our education and system of government and institutions have given us a population of remarkable independence, morality, and sense of justice. Suppose we had been drilling for two centuries, and putting all our young men in barracks, or sending them to sea to work guns, should we have been one-quarter as formidable antagonists as we are to-day?

Reflections like these are suggested by Mr. Goschen's calling, in Parliament, the other day, for eight new battle-ships, avowedly because Russia was building four, and our entrance into the game to build six. After this, has come the Emperor of Russia's amazing proposal that the mad race should stop, just as we are beginning it; that the peoples of Christendom should turn their attention and talents, not to the work of destroying each other, but of averting disease, prolonging life, promoting the arts and sciences, or, in other words, making the lot of man on earth less and not more miserable. He acknowledges that the use of national savings for the past fifty years to promote "land power" and "sea power" is all a mistake; that it is time to stop it, and think of things more becoming to our religion and civilization. E. L. G.

## THE CAMBRIDGE SCIENTIFIC CONGRESSES.

WIMEREUX, PAS-DE-CALAIS, FRANCE,
September 1, 1898.

The week ending August 28 saw two international congresses at Cambridge—the Zoologists and the Physiologists—each celebrating its fourth meeting. These two congresses are distinct in all respects from one another, and it was only by accident that they met at the same place. Indeed, they seemed—especially the Physiologists—to wish to emphasize their difference, having separate organizations, separate programmes, separate membership requirements, etc. The Physiologists—fearing, possibly, the ubiquitous anti-vivisectionist—met with closed doors, not even extending the courtesy of admission to the Zoölogists, save in exceptional cases. The foreigners felt that this was a serious curtailment of their advantages and profit. It would have been better had the congresses met in different weeks in order that a scientific man might attend both if he wished without conflict of hours and interests.

I shall accordingly confine myself to the Zoölogical Congress. It was presided over by Sir John Lubbock, who took the place of Sir William Flower, the President elected at the meeting three years ago at Leyden. Sir William was unable to preside, and upon his nomination Sir John was elected by the council to take his place. The general meetings were held at the Guildhall in the forenoons, and the four sections—for General Zoölogy, Verterbrates, Invertebrates except Arthropoda, and Arthropoda, respectively—met in various rooms in the University laboratory buildings. The programmes were not crowded, and the discussions were of considerable interest. Passing over the more technical papers of the sections, I may report briefly upon the proceedings in the general sessions.

The congress was opened on Tuesday morning in the Guildhall with short addresses by Sir John Lubbock and by delegates of several of the countries represented (Milne-Edwards, France; Schulze, Germany; Hubrecht, Holland; Marsh, United States; Solensky, Russia; Mitsukuri, Japan). The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Hill, Master of Downing College, and Professor Newton of the Cambridge committee, responded. Vice-Presidents were elected, including Prof. Marsh of Yale University. A report was presented by Dr. Stiles of the United States Embassy at Berlin on behalf of a committee on zoölogical nomenclature appointed at the last congress. This report was laid before the meeting, and the committee was continued at its request. A committee also reported on the action of the last Postal Congress at Washington, providing that zoölogical and botanical specimens should be transmitted as merchandise, and this intelligence was received with marks of gratification by the congress. A further committee reported on the prizes established in 1892 by the Emperor Alexander III. of Russia and the Tsesarevitch. It has been determined that one prize (called the Emperor Alexander III. prize) shall be awarded every three years by the Zoölogical Congress, and that the other (called the Emperor Nicholas II. prize) shall be awarded alternately by this congress and by the Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology. The first of these prizes has already been awarded once, to Dr. Scharff of Dublin. The committee reported on the current competition, awarding the Alexander III. prize to E. de Pousargues of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, for a memoir on "The Ruminants of Central Asia" (the topic put in competition), and the Nicholas II. prize to Dr. E. Hecht of Nancy, for an "Étude des Nudibranches" (the topic advertised being the Marine Invertebrates).

On Tuesday afternoon in Section D two interesting papers were presented on the Color of Lepidoptera. Dr. C. Piepers investigated the evolution of their color, and E. Bordage reported interesting experiments on the relation of the color of their chrysalis to that of the environment. The general discussion on Wednesday was on the "Position of the Sponges in the Animal Kingdom." Mr. Minchin of Oxford presented letters, etc., showing that Dr. Dobie should share with Dujardin the discovery that sponges belong to the animal kingdom. This discussion was remarkable for the divergence of views brought out, and revealed the present uncer-

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tainty attaching to the whole question. Others who took part were Vosmaer of Utrecht and Saville Kent of Queensland. In the afternoon Prof. Haeckel presented the principles of phylogenetic classification enunciated first in his 'Generale Morphologie' and later (1896) in his 'Systematische Phylogenie.' His lecture served as an introduction to the discussion to be spoken of below. An important paper before Section C on this day was that by Prof. Vejdowsky of Prague, on phenomena of fertilization and division in the eggs of Rhynchelmis, with demonstrations. Another of his was on a peculiar sense-organ of certain leeches, consisting of "a large projecting epithelial cell, the base of which is embraced by a cup-shaped muscle-cell."

The general session on Thursday was devoted to a consideration of the "Origin of the Mammals." Prof. Seeley of London and Prof. Osborn of New York opened the discussion. Their papers were valuable as résumés of the present state of knowledge on this question. Both held to a reptilian origin, Prof. Osborn emphasizing the convergence of the mammals to the insectivora in the Jurassic age. In the debate which followed, several well-known men took part. Prof. Hubrecht of Holland claimed that the evidence from embryology is most important, especially as having negative or control force, and from it upheld his well-known theory (expounded in his Princeton lectures two years ago) of the origin of the mammals from viviparous ancestors. This was vigorously opposed by Prof. Adam Sedgwick of Cambridge, who was inclined to throw over the evidence both from embryology and from palæontology; to consider the fossils, as he said, as "sisters and cousins and aunts" rather than as fathers and grandfathers of the present mammalian forms, and to place their real ancestors in some period quite prefossiliferous. He thinks the embryological record so defective that the principle of recapitulation formulated in Von Baer's law can hardly be appealed to. Examples cited by him are the lack in the embryo horse of polydactylic indications, the absence of feet in embryonic snakes, and of teeth in embryonic birds. This accentuates the attitude taken by Sedgwick several years ago in his paper on Recapitulation. Both Marsh and Hubrecht suggested that some points of agreement between mammals (as in the teeth) may be due to progress or adaptation in parallel lines rather than to direct descent. Haeckel expressed confidence in the embryological method.

It has always seemed to the present writer that the dependence of the palæontologist on the bony structures, and their inability to take any account of the soft parts, which are not preserved in the fossils, is a great limitation; while the very fact that the embryological record is defective, showing gaps and folds, becomes a new source of information to the embryologists. Sedgwick himself has pointed out that these defects of the record are to be referred to certain causes which are in many cases adaptive. So, while embryology may have its difficulties, it would still seem to be on the whole the most reliable resource, provided Von Baer's law is even approximately true. Furthermore, it is not in the bony parts that a complete record of progressive changes would be preserved in either field of investigation, but in the softer parts with which embryology alone would deal. A bone would often have to be entirely sacrificed or very much changed in effecting a new adaptation, while a soft part would yield and retain something of its earlier form through many generations. It is interesting to note that all the three illustrations given above as cited by Sedgwick to show defects in the embryological record are bony structures (*i. e.*, toes, feet, and teeth). Yet I am not sure that he did not cite other cases as well.

The following morning, Friday, every one turned out to hear Haeckel on "Our Present Knowledge of the Descent of Man." Prof. Haeckel is a large, serene, gracious, engaging personality, and was the most interesting figure in the congress, quite apart from his reputation. His lecture was a popular presentation of the general theory of evolution, with allusions to Darwin proper to the time and place, and also to Herbert Spencer, with whom he sides with much emphasis in support of Lamarckianism. It may indicate the present attitude of the philosophical mind at Cambridge to say that Mr. Spencer's name was received with no applause, indeed, almost with coldness, just after Darwin's had been vigorously clapped. While mentioning this, I may add that the allusions to Francis Balfour, also a Trinity man, who lost his life a few years ago while climbing in Switzerland, were greeted in all cases with enthusiasm little less than that shown for Darwin. No doubt, in Balfour's case—important as his work was—the local tradition is very much alive.

Haeckel's address dwelt upon the evidence accruing from comparative anatomy and palæontology to the theory of evolution. Under each head his remarks were very general. He cited Virchow's dictum as that of a man who had no right to speak. As illustrating the descent of man, he showed a series of skeletons, beginning with the lemurs (after Huxley) and coming up to man. His most interesting point, though not a new one, was that the distance, anatomically considered, between the lower apes and the anthropoids is less than that between the latter and man. As showing a certain extravagance attaching to many of Haeckel's opinions, I may cite his remark that unless the inheritance of acquired characters be granted, we must go back to "mysticism and Moses." Everybody knows that many of the most competent zoölogists—I think a decided majority—have given up the Lamarckian view of heredity and still remain evolutionists. Haeckel exhibited a chart in which the spectrum appeared in parallel columns with the phylogenetic procession of animal forms; the violet, starting from black, illustrating the midnight of earliest time, when the so-called protophyla alone existed, and passing up through the gathering dawn of the intermediate colors to the brilliant red daylight of the primates and man. Incidentally, also, he pronounced in favor of considering the Pithecanthropus of Dubois as a genuine "missing link" between the anthropoid apes and man, and declared very wisely, after saying that perhaps 1,400,000,000 years have been needed for the evolution process, that he had no "intuition" as to the exact period.

Following this, in the same session, Dr. Dubois read his paper, called "Remarks on the Brain-Cast of Pithecanthropus Erectus." This will probably prove to be one of the most important communications made to the congress. It will be remembered that Dr. Dubois showed the remains of this remarkable specimen, found in Java, at the last congress, held in Leyden in 1896, where the most diverse opinions were expressed as to its place and age. Of those pronouncing upon it, three said it was an ape, three said a man, and six maintained that it was an intermediate form—a "missing link."* Dubois now reports that detailed study, especially of the skull—of which he presented to the congress a cast—had fully confirmed his conclusion that the Pithecanthropus is a missing link. He compared the skull as to its capacity, dimensions, etc., with those of other famous specimens in great detail. He has also examined one thousand femurs from different races, and finds his specimen to represent a lower form. He thinks the lower limbs were adapted to tree-climbing as well as to ground locomotion—a fact which goes well with the relative brain development. The creature had a large occipital region in the brain, and there are indications of human characteristics in the sulci of the frontal region. Yet, on the whole, he found characters belonging to the apes rather than to exceptional (*i. e.*, microcephalic) men. Certain of his inferences as to the creature's brain drawn entirely from skull indications—as, for example, its probable capacity for rude speech—will no doubt be received with great caution by anthropologists. M. Dubois has discovered by later search an additional tooth belonging to Pithecanthropus. Unfortunately, discussion was curtailed on this paper by mismanagement, the time being allowed to a schoolboy-like dissertation with pictures of gorillas, and taken from Dr. Dubois, much to the disappointment of an audience assembled mainly to hear him.

Apart from the meetings there was much of interest in Cambridge. A large number of social events filled in the afternoons and evenings, and were continued afterwards in London; the museums and other collections were arranged for visitors; interesting excursions were prepared for the members. The weather was superb. The University recognized the presence of the two congresses by conferring honorary degrees upon the following distinguished men: Bowditch (Harvard), Milne-Edwards (Paris), Haeckel (Jena), Kronecker (Leipzig), Dohrn (Naples), Golgi (Italy), Hubrecht (Utrecht), Kühne (Heidelberg), Marey (Paris). Besides Prof. Bowditch, some of the American professors and instructors who attended the congress of physiologists were: Atwater (Wesleyan), Jastrow (Wisconsin), Lee (Columbia), Lombard (Michigan), Lusk (Yale), Porter (Harvard). Among the zoölogists were Profs. Mark (Harvard), Marsh (Yale), Osborn (Columbia), Watasé (Chicago), Baldwin (Princeton).

While writing about zoölogy I may say that in this little village, Wimereux, three miles from Boulogne-sur-Mer, there is established one of the most important marine zoological stations in France. It was founded in 1874 by Prof. Alfred Giard, then of Lille, now of Paris. He is known as one of those who have done most to spread evolutionary ideas among the French zoölogists. The laboratory of Wimereux is open to French and foreign students of marine life, having had also among its number professors from many countries. It was founded by a grant from the Sorbonne, with which it maintains its connection. A remarkable collection of specimens is kept in the building.

*These numbers are given by Haeckel. Any importance attaching to them depends upon who the authorities were.

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The work of the laboratory is published in an annual *Bulletin Zoologique de France*, familiar to biologists. At present the annual income is inadequate and the building far too small; but the Minister of War has given to Prof. Giard the old fort of Ambleteuse, near Wimereux, to which the laboratory is soon to be transferred. J. M. B.

## CARDUCCI'S LEOPARDI.

PISA MARINA, August, 1898.

Only here amid the fragrant pinewoods, the odorous ever-golden gorse, in the silence unbroken save by the rhythmic utterances of the ever-sounding and mysterious sea, have we been able to begin to make acquaintance with the new, real, genuine Leopardi as revealed by Carducci in his 'Considerations on the Spirit and Form in the Poetry of Giacomo Leopardi,' and more luminously still in the first volume of the poet's own "Literary and Philosophical Thoughts" deposited in his *Zibaldone di Pensieri* hour by hour and day by day throughout five and twenty years of his sad life of nine and thirty. The Recanati commemorative festivals held on the anniversary of Leopardi's birth (June 29, 1798) seemed to clash with one's associations with the melancholy poet, "Italy's sad son," who, according to the Mazzini-inspired Swinburne, knew all things Italian "save Italy"; and one could not but recur bitterly to the remembrance that this garlanding the tombstone could not atone to the weary poet for his uncrowned brow, nor the resounding laudations of posterity solace the genius-fed spirit for the cold, harsh unrecognition of his contemporaries. Yet, with the recently published volumes in our hands, we can almost bless the jealous love of Antonio Ranieri, Leopardi's faithful friend during life, who kept hidden from the public this depository of his thoughts till a Carducci should be at hand to interpret them.

Carducci's merit lies in an "accepted duty" imposed on him, by all suffrages, when, on the death of Ranieri's heirs, Leopardi's manuscripts became, under the terms of his will, the property of the National Library of Naples. A nephew of the poet, Giacomo, son of Pier Francesco Leopardi, contested Ranieri's right to dispose of the manuscripts which belong to the family; but the interminable litigation resulted only in the compilation of a minute inventory of the papers which remained in the possession of Ranieri's executor, Santamaria Nicolini, until April, 1897, when Senator Filippo Mariotti, President of the "Society for the Study of Italian History in the Marches," after obtaining the consent of the family, proposed the nomination of a committee for the examination and the publication of such of the manuscripts as should be deemed opportune. The Minister of Public Instruction, Gianturco, accepting the manuscripts at the hands of the family in the name of the nation, they were deposited in the Casanatense Library in Rome, and the committee, after taking cognizance of the 4,526 pages containing the "Thoughts," decided on their publication.

To Carducci fell the task of editorship at a moment when he was more than usually overwhelmed with work, just completing his thirty years' study and commentary on Petrarch, and his preface to Alberto Mario's political writings, all of which had to be suspended. "Truly a grand poet, our greatest poet of this century, our Leopardi," he wrote to us in February; "but why should the weight of his four thousand four hundred and forty-four thoughts fall on my shoulders?" But the accepted duty soon became a labor of love—every "thought" was read, and the first volume printed with an entire index to the matter that will occupy four, and with a preface which leaves one with a thirst for the volumes yet to come. That there will be an American if not an English edition of the "Thoughts" we have no doubt; never was there a greater *embarras du choix* for a would-be selecter. The general impression left by perusal is wonder and admiration at the profound wisdom, the sparkling wit, the humor so rare in Italian writers, together with the sound judgment, healthy morality, pure patriotism and admiration of patriotism manifest in this so-called poet of despair.

"Leopardi hymned the elegy of human suffering, of the travail of the universe; but before classifying him as the poet of pessimism, of nihilism, we must agree on the signification of these terms. 'Giacomo,' wrote his brother Carlo to F. Mariotti, 'was melancholy by nature, and, realizing the power of melancholy and of irony, turned them to use in his writings,' and these few and simple words give us the clue to the origin of his poetry. Deprived from his earliest years of the air of living life, of healthy, vein-fitted, muscular vitality, he gave himself up to study, in order to ground, to strengthen and train himself for the future man of letters, seeing nothing greater or higher than literature. His mind and genius developed precisely at the moment when the cloud of vague sadness which the French agree to call the *mal du siècle* condensed round literature. Not from 'this' or 'those' writers, but from one and all together, he took, as Dante has it, his first impress."

Ill health, uncared for, untended by a harsh, bigoted, unloving mother, who rejoiced that her children should die young and be taken from the evil of the world; increased by his intense devotion to study, his passionate love of beauty in the abstract, beauty in nature, beauty of the human face and form, his thirst for woman's love and the realization that it would never be accorded to his unlovely person—fostered and augmented his melancholy, which nothing in his uncongenial surroundings modified. "God," he wrote at twenty-four years of age, "has created our world so beautiful, men have made so many beautiful things, that all save idiots thirst to see and know. The world is full of marvels, and I for eighteen years keep asking, Must I live and must I die in this cavern where I was born?"

In this "cavern" he dwelt with the ancients for a time exclusively; here he made acquaintance with the world of two thousand years ago, and from that lost ancient world he deduced the difference of the present world in which he lived an alien. Later he made acquaintance with Rousseau, Chateaubriand, De Staël, the Werther of Goethe, Foscolo's Ortis, Sterne, Byron's poems in translation, Lamennais's 'Essay on Indifference.'

"Those who seek in the poet only negation, belief in the predominance of evil, who admire him only when and where they find the pessimist, should be warned that they have attained only to half-truths. Nay, it is more interesting and useful to seek and study the efforts Leopardi made to resist and repel this tendency before letting himself be carried away by sentiment and infirm thoughts to final conclusions. He never erected pessimism, negation, into a system; his poetry, with its incoherencies and exceptions and contradictions, is the intimate drama of his morbid sensitiveness, of his education so cruelly constrained and restricted, of his personality continually offended, of his lofty intellect so stubbornly upright, of his soul naturally benevolent and generous. . . . His moral philosophy, delineated in his letters, and now further revealed in his Thoughts, shows that he regards virtue, love, glory, the effective basis of country, humanity, art, as illusions, but necessary and natural illusions. Thus, those who have faith in the higher ends of civilization, and who hold with the poetry of Sophocles, Virgil, and Dante, know what to expect in Leopardi's."

In examining the poet's work of art, Carducci, repeating that its motive is human suffering, which, step by step, soars, spreads and confounds itself with the travail of the universe, finds its operative forces in a sensibility excited to passion, a representative imagination which attains to enthusiasm, a melancholy pervading but not perturbing—with a judgment secure in its proportions and its equilibrium, a healthy taste for form and color, with an exquisite musical sense, combined with a perfect classic culture.

"In his poetry you find nothing mechanical, rhetorical, or conventional; the poet, absolutely master of himself, writes when and of what he pleases, for himself and his ideas: most noble his matter and his manner. Psychologically and historically, his work may be divided into two parts: the first from 1816 to 1826, from the 'Approach of Death' (1816) to his epistle to Carlo Pepolo (1826); the second, from April 13, 1828, when he wrote the 'Risorgimento,' to 1837, when he died. The first period is characterized by psychological struggle and continuous progress in art; the second by attainment to original perfection in art, but also by soul struggle and discouragement. The first period embraces four different and distinct phases—elegiacal, patriotic, idyllic, classical."

Each of these phases Carducci examines with the master poet's touch, tracing the enthusiastic hopes, beliefs, and faiths of Leopardi's earliest years and poems, following their decline or rather hopelessness, but concluding:

"The idea of a cause, a force, a providence, or a mind outside of and distinct from matter, Leopardi, according to my idea, never eliminated, whether he called it God or Fate, Destiny or Nature. . . . Even in the strange ode to Ahriman, to the malignant power which reigns and rules, hidden, to the detriment of the human race, it is not a nullity; a first cause still is recognized."

From another point of view he writes:

"I end by regarding 'La Ginestra' as Giacomo's greatest work—this not only for its poetic value, which possesses the mathematic exactitude, the profound intuition, of Dante, together with the mild austerity, the sad serenity, and the vast comprehension of Lucretius; but for the informing thought on which he, speaking a more daring and determined language than heretofore, sets the true and final seal of his personality. He has flung off the grim power of Ahriman and has returned, as a philosopher must, if not to God and Fate, to Nature. Nature he neither praises nor deems a friend; nay, he hopes to see the human company, society, leagued against her, for the protection, welfare, and happiness of all. Thus Leopardi ended his sad poems, admitting the sadness of life, but suggesting the only remedy—a powerful sense of human solidarity in the presence of Nature's indifference. Whisper low: Giacomo was in touch with socialism."

The pages that enthrall us in this enchanting little volume are those which revindicate Leopardi's love of Italy, his passionate desire for her redemption, the anguish he felt at his own impotence to promote it, his keen appreciation of any effort or chance that might avail her. Ninety of Carducci's 216 pages are dedicated to the three patriotic canzoni, "All' Italia," "Sopra il Monumento

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di Dante," "Ad Angelo Mai," and he reminds the modern detractors of Leopardi's patriotism that his love and pride of country exhale even from his earliest letters. "My country is Italy. I burn with love for her, thanking Heaven that I was born Italian." "Oh, fatherland mine, I cannot shed my blood for thee, thou art not! In what work, how, in what fashion, can I spend my sweat, my sufferings, my blood?" This hymn to Italy, so cruelly derided by Tommaseo and so little understood by De Sanctis, inflamed the patriotic conscience and forefelt the sentiment of duty and sacrifice that inspired two heroic generations. Carducci quotes the verses: "None fight for thee? None of thy sons defend thee? To arms! 'arms here! Even alone will I combat and die for thee. Oh, Heaven grant that my blood may kindle fire in Italian breasts," and then continues:

"Ah, this artificial? ridiculous? comic? It was said in Recanati that when Giacomo's *canzone* was published, Vitto Fedele, Carbonaro, after reading it, exclaimed, 'O not alone shall you die for Italy'; and Fedele, arrested during the Roman conspiracy of 1830, condemned to death, but with sentence commuted to the galleys, died two years later in the fortress of Civita Vecchia. 'With Manzoni in church, with Leopardi in war,' said other patriotic volunteers. Comic? ridiculous? artificial? Poets, true poets, are seers; they foreshadow the soul of their country! In the young poet's verses there is already a history. *And the yet unborn years Daniel remembered.* There is the history of the adventures, now dispraised, now glorified, of Young Italy—the Bandiera brothers and their followers shot to death in a flower-clad valley under the July sun; Pisacane rowing up to death under the sun of June. Settembrini, the illustrious galley-slave of Santo Stefano, had already gently admonished his friend, De Sanctis, that this poem was quite other than 'a schoolboy's effusion.' 'Leopardi represents our times, De Sanctis, mine. His verses kindled the fire, we recited and repeated them, and for many who fell for our beloved and sacred country they were their last words in life. And those youths had just quitted school; some came from your own school, O friend beloved.' Again, in 1848, the Roman National Legion passing through Ancona to fight the Austrians on the Po, halted at Leopardi's house, where his favorite sister welcomed them. 'Ah,' wrote one of the volunteers, 'if the city sent a cannon with his name inscribed on it, his great soul would direct every shot; he would forget all past griefs, and rejoice that his native city had decreed him such a monument.' This is how Leopardi was held in 1848. Afterwards came the critics."

The odes to Dante and to Monsignor Mai are reviewed and expounded from the point of view of their patriotic inspiration and aspiration and their influence on contemporary patriots. In the year following their publication, the revolutions in Naples and Piedmont initiated the series of failures that resulted in final success. But Leopardi would not have been content with mere political emancipation; he foresaw the necessity of moral, material, and intellectual regeneration. J. W. M.

# Notes.

Dodd, Mead & Co. will publish shortly 'Glimpses of Modern German Culture,' by Prof. Kuno Francke of Harvard; 'Modern French Fiction,' by Prof. Benjamin W. Wells; 'Essays on Work and Culture,' by Hamilton W. Mabie; 'American Bookmen,' by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, with illustrations; 'Drypoints and Drawings,' by Paul Helleu; 'The Hittites and their Language,' by Lieut.-Col. C. L. Conder; 'The Life of Napoleon III.,' by Archibald Forbes; 'Holland and the Hollanders,' by David S. Meldrum; 'Africa: Its Partition and Its Future,' by Henry M. Stanley and others; and 'Hawaii in Time of Revolution,' by Mary H. Krout.

Further announcements by G. P. Putnam's Sons are: 'Final Proof; or, The Value of Evidence,' by Rodrigues Ottolengui; 'Mexico and the United States,' by Matias Romero, Mexican Minister to the United States; 'Renaissance Masters,' by George B. Rose; 'The Groundwork of Science,' by St. George Mivart; 'Earth Sculpture; or, The Origin of Land-Forms,' by Prof. James Geikie; and 'Catering for Two: Comfort and Economy for Small Households,' by Alice M. James. Also, in the series of "Heroes of the Nations" and "Story of the Nations" respectively, 'Bismarck and the New German Empire: How it Arose and What it Displaced,' by J. W. Headlam, and 'The Story of the West Indies,' by Amos K. Fiske.

D. Appleton & Co. add also 'Cannon and Camera,' from the seat of war in Cuba, by John C. Hemment, war artist at the front; 'Puerto Rico,' an illustrated handbook by Frederick A. Ober and others; 'Stories of Our Navy in Time of War,' by Franklin Matthews; 'The Gospel Writ in Steel,' by Arthur Paterson; and 'David Harum,' a story of American Life, by the late Edward Noyes Westcott.

Macmillan Company announce 'The Memoir of Bismarck,' by Dr. Moritz Busch; 'Paul, the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher,' by Orello Cone, D.D.; 'De Soto and his Men in the Land of Florida,' by Miss Grace King; 'Tales of the Enchanted Isles of the Atlantic,' by T. W. Higginson; 'The Two Magics,' by Henry James; and Zola's 'Dr. Pascal,' translated by Mary J. Serrano.

From Francis P. Harper we are to have 'The Wild Fowl of the United States and British Possessions,' by Prof. Daniel G. Elliot, profusely illustrated; 'Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur,' edited by Dr. Elliott Coues, forming No. 2 in the American Explorer Series; a reprint of Silas Wood's rare 'History and Sketch of the Town of Huntington, Long Island,' edited by Wm. S. Pelletreau; 'The Early Wills of Westchester County, N. Y., 1664-1784,' abstracted and annotated by the same editor; 'The Romance of Book-Collecting,' by J. Herbert Slater; 'Weather Lore,' a collection of proverbs, etc., by Richard Inward, President of the Royal Meteorological Society; 'The Free Library,' by J. J. Ogle, and kindred works in a series edited by Dr. Richard Garnett of the British Museum.

'The Poems of Richard Realf,' edited by Col. Richard J. Hinton; 'Catherine of Siena,' by Arthur T. Pierson, D.D.; and 'The Cyclopædia of Classified Dates,' edited by Charles E. Little, are among the forthcoming publications of Funk, Wagnalls & Co.

Fleming H. Revell Co. will issue immediately 'Korean Sketches: A Missionary's Observations in the Hermit Nation,' by the Rev. James S. Gale.

Besides Victor Duruy's 'General History of the World,' translated by Prof. Grosvenor of Amherst, T. Y. Crowell & Co. will issue shortly Brunetière's 'Manual of the History of French Literature,' translated by Ralph Derechef; 'Municipal Monopolies,' edited by Prof. Edward W. Bemis; 'Loom and Spindle,' old-time factory life described by Harriet H. Robinson; and 'Great Books,' by Dean Farrar.

Copeland & Day, Boston, announce 'Literary Likings,' essays by Dr. Richard Burton; 'About Music,' two volumes of essays by William F. Apthorp; and two books of verse, 'Labor and the Angel,' by Duncan Campbell, and 'The Wayfarers,' by Miss Josephine Preston Peabody.

A study of the 'Ohio Tax-Inquisitor Law,' by Mr. T. N. Carver, is published by the Macmillan Co. for the American Economic Association. Mr. Carver regards this law as "a last attempt to buttress up the decaying general-property tax, which, in spite of the practical difficulties in the way of its administration, is still popularly regarded throughout the United States as the ideal tax system." Such being the regard in which this system is held, it is not apparent why it should be called "decaying," unless because of the corruption which it encourages. The "inquisitor law" has the same tendency, and deserves condemnation as promoting bribery, even if it results, as Mr. Carver shows, in the taxation of a considerable amount of intangible property which might otherwise escape.

The "Künstler-Monographien" of Velhagen & Klasing, Leipzig, of which we have frequently spoken, were very happily conceived as thin volumes in tasteful limp cloth binding, and this model has been followed in a new series of popular "Monographien zur Erdkunde," called specifically 'Land und Leute.' From Lemcke & Buechner we have the first number, on Thüringia, a district lending itself admirably to the project by virtue alike of its scenery and its imperishable associations with great men and great events. These are beautifully illustrated by copious half-tone and other plates, and the text (by A. Stobel) runs on in somewhat dithyrambic vein, as befits the land of Goethe and Schiller and Luther, of Wieland and Herder and Fritz Reuter. There is a geological map of Thüringia, but none political, which seems a shortcoming. With a modern map, surely, each of these monographs should be provided, and with an index. They would then unreservedly commend themselves for pleasurable geographical instruction. The next issue will be Cuba.

The tenth volume of Jules Lemaître's 'Impressions de Théâtre' (Paris: Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie) exhibits all the qualities which have made the impressionist critic famous, and is as entertaining and instructive as any that have yet appeared. There is a solidity, too, about the studies, a decisiveness about the judgments, a resolute way of stating convictions—even though certain to prove unpalatable to dramatists and public—that give additional weight to the opinions of the critic. The article on the much over-praised "Cyrano de Bergerac" contains, as nearly as may be, the impression that play makes on thinking hearers and readers not carried away by the wave of Rostand-Coquelin success. The reply to Brandes, on the Ibsen question, is not only witty, it is just, and the review of Geoffroy's work as a dramatic critic both sound and useful.

M. Henri Michel, in 'Le Quarantième Fauteuil' (Paris: Hachette), has collected the articles published by him in the *Temps* on the various "receptions" of successful candidates by the French Academy. Many of them were worth preserving, and, for the sake of these, others less valuable may be read.

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But there is getting to be altogether an over-abundance of republished newspaper articles.

M. Lanson's 'Corneille' (Paris: Hachette) is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, not only in so far as the dramatist is concerned, but also in respect of the evolution of tragedy in France and the part played by Corneille in moulding it. The biographical portion is necessarily brief, but M. Lanson has utilized all the space at his command for a close study of the tragedies, their composition, their characteristics, and the influence they had on men of the day and of later generations. According to him, there are two distinct forms of the French tragedy—that of the fifteenth century, of which Jodelle is the creator, and that of the seventeenth, of which Corneille is the father. These two forms are separated, or linked, by the tragi-comedy. This whole question is well discussed, as well as that of the fundamental element of Corneille's drama—the force of the will; and M. Lanson, in a series of very able pages, shows how the triumph of the will led to the very coldness and lack of interest of the later tragedies. Highly to be commended also are the reflections on the present mental state of France—reflections which have been made somewhat differently by others, but which it behooves responsible writers to impress more and more on their readers.

M. Remy de Gourmont publishes 'Le Deuxième Livre des Masques' (Paris: *Mercure de France*), illustrated, as was the first, by the admirable drawings of M. F. Vallotton. The appreciations of this writer will not readily be accepted by most readers, who, from their own study of the authors lauded, will feel unable to endorse all the fine things M. de Gourmont says of them; but every one will enjoy the portraits, which are excellent, characteristic, and striking. They form the more valuable portion of the work.

Too many persons prefer legend to history and romance to fact. To such as these the solid work of M. Frantz Funck-Brentano, 'Légendes et Archives de la Bastille' (Paris: Hachette), will not commend itself, but to the other and growing class which prefers truth to fiction, the book is very welcome indeed. It upsets the popular, widespread, and deep-rooted notion of the character of the Bastille and of the storming (or alleged storming) thereof, and, inferentially, casts ridicule upon the national fête-day of France. M. Funck-Brentano gives us first the history of the Bastille, or royal château, which eventually became a prison for ordinary criminals, but nevertheless always preserved a character of superiority over other prisons, in that it was the most comfortable, the most pleasant, and the most liberally administered—so much so that prisoners not infrequently begged to be allowed to remain. This novel view is supported by documentary evidence drawn from the archives now preserved in the Arsenal Library at Paris. M. Funck-Brentano discusses the incarceration of literary men, the imprisonment of Danry, better known as Latude, of whom he has a very poor opinion, and finally the taking of the fortress-prison, which he ruthlessly but wisely strips of its sham heroism and republican grandeur. A most interesting chapter is that on the Man of the Iron Mask (the mask was of velvet and not of iron). In this chapter he pronounces upon the prisoner's identity. The whole work is of the greatest interest and admirably written.

Mr. Edward W. James's *Lower Norfolk County (Virginia) Antiquary* (Richmond: George M. West) is edited in the true spirit of respect for recorded fact and with a nice discrimination in selection. For its own section it is an invaluable aid to genealogical research. In the current issue, No. 2, Part 3, it offers two lists of special interest, one being of harp and piano owners, Portsmouth, 1855, from the Commissioner of the Revenue's report, but without (what would have been curious) an indication of the respective instruments. However, out of eighty-two, fifteen were rated at a valuation below $100, and may perhaps stand for harps, if not for all. This would be an extraordinary proportion in any Northern city of corresponding population. The other list is of property-owners in Norfolk County on the eve of the civil war (1860), and in it figure a noticeable number of mulattoes and blacks, destitute of real property, however, and not overabounding in personal; but one Mary Ann Wilson (a black woman) stands up well even among the whites with $500. Records of church confession of unchastity such as are copiously paralleled at the North even in the Quaker denomination, and of witchcraft are other features of the *Antiquary* this month.

*Petermann's Mitteilungen*, number seven, contains the notes of several expeditions by R. Ludwig into a region in northeastern Venezuela, known as the Caños, which appears to be rich in largely undeveloped natural resources, mineral and agricultural. Extensive deposits of sulphur, for instance, were found, which, though only a few miles from the sea, were unutilized from the lack of roads and means of transport. In an interesting communication, Dr. O. Baumann, the well-known African traveller, chronicles the latest crossing of Africa by a traveller. This is the sand-flea, or jigger, which buries itself in the flesh, generally of the feet, and, if neglected, causes a putrefying sore, often fatal. It was brought to Ambriz on the west coast in 1872 in the sand-ballast of a ship from Brazil. Thirteen years later the doctor found it at Stanley Pool on the Congo. The Emin Pasha relief expedition carried it to the Victoria Nyanza, where it proved a great scourge, "destroying whole villages." In 1897 it had reached the east coast and is now found on the island of Zanzibar, from whence it will probably continue its travels to India and the South Seas. Some interesting figures are given showing the significant increase of the freight traffic on the Transcaspian Railway. The largest single article carried west was cotton, mainly from Fergana. The amount transported last year, more than two hundred million pounds, was about a third of the whole amount consumed in Russia.

The woodchuck, or ground-hog, on his destructive side has long engaged the attention of farmers, who like not his burrowing in their truck gardens or in their hayfields. Science has found it somewhat difficult to come to their aid. In the latest Bulletin of the Bussey Institution of Harvard University, vol. ii., part vii., Prof. F. H. Storer gives a chapter to the subject, and appears to think that certain "torches" which he describes meet the emergency. Foxes and skunks may also be kept down by the same agency.

The Department of Geology and Natural Resources of Indiana has published its twenty-second annual report, setting forth in part the work accomplished during 1897. The report includes papers of economic value relating to the clay and petroleum industries, together with official reports on mines, natural gas, and illuminating oils. The most important feature of the book is an illustrated catalogue of the birds of Indiana, with an account of their habits, by Amos W. Butler. The utilization of convict labor in making road material is advocated by W. S. Blatchley, State Geologist. He advises the purchase of an extensive bed of shale and the erection of a paving-brick factory, to be worked by inmates of the penitentiary at Michigan City. Nearly a thousand of these able-bodied men now march about for exercise, and are maintained in idleness by the industry of honest citizens, because the labor organizations of Indiana are opposed to their competition. This plan considers the employment of convicts only in the preparation of material, and it is claimed that a year's output will suffice to pave almost one hundred miles of roadway; all grading, teaming, and brick-laying to be done by free labor.

The *Boletín* of the Geological Institute of Mexico, number ten, is devoted to a bibliographical list of books and scientific papers relating to the geology, metallurgy, and mines of Mexico, issued between 1556 and 1896. The 1,953 titles are catalogued in two parts—an author-index and an alphabetical list of memoirs, reports, and anonymous works. There is also a subject-index and an index of places mentioned.

The oldest academy in the United States is at Old Byfield, in the town of Newbury, Essex County, Mass. It was established in 1763 by a bequest from Lieut.-Gov. William Dummer, and has been known ever since as Dummer Academy. Of late years the institution has somewhat languished, but in 1896 a new departure was taken and there is good promise of success under the efficient management of the present teachers. The buildings and equipment of the school, however, require to be renovated, and the trustees have determined to raise a fund of $25,000 in order that this "ancient and honorable" institution may not be distanced by modern competitors. It has a noble list of officers and alumni, and has many claims to the aid which a committee from the Harvard faculty, after visitation, recommends. Those who wish to contribute may communicate with Mr. J. H. Ropes, No. 34½ Shepard Street, Cambridge, Mass.

—Some years ago we called attention to the remarkable accuracy, good sense, and critical acumen displayed in Prof. Calvin Thomas's edition of the First Part of Goethe's "Faust" (Boston: D. C. Heath). It is a pleasure to state that the Second Part, which was published last winter, shows the editor fully up to the high standard set by himself. We do not recall a single essay, either in German or in English, that gives as lucid and succinct a synopsis of the various phases through which the Faust conception passed in Goethe's mind from 1800 to 1831 as is given in the first half of Prof. Thomas's Introduction. Nor are we acquainted with a saner or more truly enlightened analysis of the poem as a whole than that contained in those chapters of the present edition entitled "The Completed Second Part" and "The Didactic Element." It is not surprising, but none the less grati-

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fying, to find in Prof. Thomas a strong advocate of the poetic as against the speculative interpretation; to hear him say of the "Mummenschanz": "To impute to it as a whole any profound allegorical or 'philosophical' meaning, is simply to mistake the character of Goethe's art"; to see him pass by with utter silence Veit Valentin's pseudo-scientific expectorations about a supposed mysterious connection between *Homunculus* and *Helena*. And it is a genuine delight to come across such bits of striking and wholesome language as: "What, then, does *Homunculus* 'mean'? The question is absurd. As well ask what *Puck* means, or *Robin Goodfellow*, or *Jack-the-Giant-Killer*"; or this: "*Helena* is not Greek art, nor an embodiment of any other abstraction whatever, but a legendary personage. The symbolism is not to be grasped by the help of a 'key' or of logical analysis, but by the poetic imagination; and it will suggest more or less to the reader according to his familiarity with the underlying legend, with Greek poetry, with mediæval life and history, with the great classico-romantic controversy. One who knows or cares little about these things will not find the 'Helena' very interesting."

—It is only natural that the soundness and soberness of Prof. Thomas's judgment should at the same time be his limitation. There are not a few instances in either of these two volumes where his very clear-headedness seems to have prevented him from entering into the deeper import of Goethe's conceptions. That the "Urfaust" version, "der trockne *Schwärmer*," for the later reading, "der trockne *Schleicher*," should be made to vindicate famulus *Wagner* from the charge of soulless pedantry, is well-nigh Wagnerish. To dismiss the mysterious grandeur of the mothers-scene as a "bit of solemn fooling" betrays a state of mind quite out of tune with *Faust's* ecstatic exclamation: "Das Schaudern ist der Menschheit bestes Theil." And not even an attempt is made to follow the inner process of *Faust's* gradually rising superior to the empty formalism of *Mephisto's* artifices. But these defects, as we have said, are so closely bound up with the signal merits of Prof. Thomas's method of interpretation, and they are so entirely overshadowed by his achievements, that it would be injustice as well as ingratitude to dwell upon them. The fact remains that now for the first time we have an edition of "Faust" which makes it possible for the student to approach the poet himself without having to wade through a sea of scholastic formulas, and which, at the same time, embodies the result of all those historical and philological investigations which, during the last thirty years, have shed new light on Goethe's ethical and artistic development.

—Speaking of "Faust," we cannot forego mentioning a little volume of poems by Prof. Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard, which display a personality of truly Faust-like temper. If we mistake not, these poems—they are published under the title, 'Verse von Hugo Terberg' (Grossenhain: Baumert & Ronge)—belong in the same category with the new dramatic productions that cluster around the names of Hauptmann and Sudermann, as well as with the lyric effusions of a Johanna Ambrosius. Widely apart as they are, both in tone and in subject-matter, from the strains of the Prussian peasant-poetess, they have the same intense subjectivity, impulsiveness, earnestness, joyfulness, and power. They are another and most welcome evidence that the days of the academicians and faultless rhymesters are counted in Germany, and that lyric poetry, too, like the drama, is coming to be an expression of the fundamental problems of modern life. Where there is so much to admire, it is hard to select; but thoughtful readers will probably agree that the two poems "Nach dem Diner" and "Staub" deserve the prize—the one as a thrilling picture of the social cataclysm whose coming we instinctively feel, the other as a truly titanic vision of the soul's struggle for infinite activity. It is sincerely to be hoped that Prof. Münsterberg, though now living amid non-German surroundings, will not cease to consider himself pledged to German literature.

—At a convention of Scandinavian philologists recently held in Christiania, Prof. Sophus Bugge of the University of Christiania read a very interesting paper on the origin of the Runes. Since Prof. Wimmer of the University of Copenhagen, in 1873, published his book on the 'Origin of Runic Writing' (a German, revised translation of this work appeared in 1887 under the title 'Die Runenschrift'), it has been considered scientifically established that the runes were developments of Latin characters with which the Teutonic tribes at an early age had become acquainted. Now Bugge has reached another conclusion. It is an established fact that runic characters were used by Goths, as well as by Anglo-Saxons and other Western Germanic tribes, besides the Scandinavians, and we know the Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, and Scandinavian names of the runes. There is, too, an historic connection not only between the names but also between the signs and sound values which the runes have with the different Germanic tribes. The signs had their origin in the written characters of Southern nations, and it is proved that some of them are developed from Latin characters. Consequently, the runes must have originated with a Teutonic tribe that directly or indirectly had become acquainted with Latin characters, and from them they must have come to other Germanic tribes, and at the same time the names of the runic characters were borrowed by one nation from another. The tribe which originated the runes could not have been the Scandinavians, and hardly any West Germanic tribe, but must have been the Goths, who employed the runes earlier than any other tribe can be shown to have used them. Although the runes presuppose knowledge of Latin characters, it is wrong with Wimmer to draw the conclusion that they originated exclusively in that alphabet. Prof. Bugge believes that they also presuppose knowledge of the Greek alphabet, and there is, in fact, nothing improbable in assuming that the authors of the runic alphabet knew both kinds of characters. Several of the runic signs may have developed from Greek characters, and the name of one of the runes may be derived from the name of one of the Greek letters. As a medium we may assume Celtic Gauls who knew both Greek and Latin writing.

—In the Gothic translation of the Bible there are not a few Celtic words, some of which may have been borrowed in Europe; but one word points in another direction, the word for disciple, which, as it is used exclusively in the Christian sense of the word, must have been borrowed from Christian Celts, none other than those living in Asia Minor, the Galatians. With them the Goths came into contact, and in an expedition to Asia Minor in 267 A. D. they made some Galatian prisoners. On the other hand, there is a certain similarity between names of runic signs on one side and of Armenian and Georgian characters on the other. There had been contact between Christian Armenians and Goths at the time when the latter were converted to Christianity; in the Gothic translation of the Bible there are words of Armenian origin, and the Goths in 267 probably also took Armenian prisoners. On the other hand, the apostle of the Armenians was familiar with Greek civilization, and the Armenian alphabet as well as the Georgian was patterned upon the Greek. Prof. Bugge's conclusion, therefore, is that the runes were invented by Goths in southeastern Europe a few years after the expedition of the year 267, and that they probably resulted from the efforts of a few men, or perhaps one single especially gifted man, who built his system on information obtained from Christian prisoners from Asia Minor, at least one of whom must have been a Galatian and one an Armenian. The chief difficulty lies in making this theory agree with the facts established by archæology as to the first use of the runes by the Scandinavians. How long a time would be needed for the migration of the runes from the Goths of Southeastern Europe to Scandinavia? Some authors have suggested 200 years, but such a long time seems excessive. Runic inscriptions are found in the oldest Danish moor finds, which by Danish archæologists are attributed to the fourth century A. D., and assuming that supposition to be correct, Bugge's theory would be possible. But other authorities date the age of those finds further back, and if they are right his theory would be subject to difficulties.

—An exceptionally interesting number of the Consular Reports for August opens with an elaborate paper upon coffee, the methods of cultivation, marketing, cost, and profits, together with the world's production and consumption, by our Consul at Santos, Brazil, Mr. F. D. Hill. The present annual production he estimates at twelve million bags (1,584,000,000 pounds), of which Brazil furnishes three-quarters. The United States is the greatest consumer in the world, taking about four and a half million bags. Coffee is by far the most important of Brazilian exports, its money value in 1895 having been $140,000,000 out of a total of $180,000,000. "Everybody has gone into coffee-raising," so that the common necessaries of life are imported. The Consul holds that there is now an overproduction, which is the main cause of the serious fall in prices. This report is followed by an account of some of the efforts made to improve the condition of agriculture in Russia by the establishment of schools for instruction in agriculture, gardening, the care of cattle, the dairy industry, forestry, etc. In the province of Ekaterinoslav alone, in 1895, out of 500 elementary village schools 227 had gardens of more than an acre each, in which were over a hundred thousand fruit-bearing trees and bushes, and more than two hundred thousand forest trees and bushes. Fifty-five thousand of these were given to peasants for planting. Dairy schools for boys and girls, not exceeding twelve in number, "may be established on all private estates where a regular dairy industry is carried on, where

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there are not less than eighty milch cows, and where each cow gives not less than 2,700 pounds of milk annually." This permission, which carried with it a treasury subvention, has been availed of to the full extent of the funds set apart for this purpose, while a number of schools have been founded and are maintained by private contributions. The Consul at Chefoo, Mr. John Fowler, calls attention to the importance of our trade in North China, which he estimates at more than eight million dollars a year, or three times the amount of that in 1890.

## BROWNSON.

*Orestes A. Brownson's Early Life*, from 1803 to 1844. By Henry F. Brownson. Detroit: The Author. 1898.

A more unattractive volume than this, so far as its exterior semblance goes, we do not often see, but the contents deserve a better visual presentation. Dictated by filial piety, they do not exaggerate the part the father played in Transcendental times. There is, indeed, much of adverse criticism, but this is little more than a reflection of the father's Roman Catholic superiority to the "confusions of his wasted youth." We have here a very interesting book, quite indispensable for those who would fully comprehend the Transcendental movement and the men who shaped its destinies. In most histories of the movement and biographies of its leading spirits Brownson is touched evasively, quite as much as if his career and its final outcome were discreditable to the Transcendentalists as if they were so to himself; so that, if any antique song were sung for him, it would be:

> "Oh, breathe not his name!
> Let him lie in the shade."

John Quincy Adams bracketed him, in one of the famous passages of his Diary, with Emerson and Garrison as deserving of the most absolute distrust. The Rev. O. B. Frothingham, in his 'New England Transcendentalism,' characterized him briefly and effectively. But it is evident from this volume, as it was to many in advance of it, that his early reputation has been too much obscured by his recession from the "come-outers" into the Roman Church. It is quite possible that this obscuration is more accordant with his real merits as a thinker and reformer than was the standing he enjoyed before his recession, but there can henceforth be no doubt that his standing was for a time that of a conspicuous leader, much followed and admired, and the fact is an important one in our general estimate of the Transcendentalists. The web of their life was of a mingled yarn, good and ill together. The range was wide from Emerson and Hedge and Parker to some of those whom Emerson described so happily in his "Historic Notes" and "Chardon Street Convention." In the present Life of Brownson we get not only the measure of his character and performance, but much vivid impression of other leaders through their relation to his thought and work.

Orestes Augustus Brownson was born in 1803 and died in 1876. He barely escaped being called Daphnis Augustus, his twin sister being called Daphne Augusta, and this outbreak of classical nomenclature was prophetic of something wider than the boundaries of the Congregational body in which he was born and had his earliest religious education. In his nineteenth year he became a Presbyterian after "dashing [his] speculative brains against the rocks of infidelity" on his way from his first moorings. Extracts from his journal show how easily he mastered the conventional jargon of Presbyterian piety, but hardly a year had passed before he was as glib in his appropriation of Universalist formulas. That he did not become a Universalist preacher until 1826 was owing to a terrible sickness which covered a good part of the years 1824 and 1825. He kept up his Universalist connection until 1829. But he wore his new faith with a difference from his coreligionists. His chameleon style reflected that of Thomas Paine, and his thought took on the practical color of Franklin's. Especially were his views of the Bible and of revelation heretical from the Universalist point of view. For a time his furious anti-Calvinism condoned his heresies, but in 1829 we find him under suspicion, and, as he was never slow in changing front, in December of that year the celebrated Fanny Wright was able to announce that he had "held out to her the hand of fellowship and become attached to the *Free Enquirer*," the organ of her opinions. He had already, in the *Gospel Advocate*, come bravely to her defence against malign aspersions. He now accepted cordially her views of marriage as a purely voluntary arrangement, terminable at will; but his son does not believe that he or any of the writers for the *Free Enquirer* had the courage of their convictions and lived up to them. He also accepted her doctrine of the state education of children, their parents to surrender them at an early age to public care, and he became an eager advocate of the doctrines of the Workingmen's party, of which Fanny Wright was the inspiring soul. In support of this party, which was not by any means so agrarian as its enemies represented it, Brownson established in western New York the *Daily Sentinel*, but in the autumn of 1830 he was already tired of the new party, and gave his influence and that of his paper to the Jackson candidate for the governorship.

In February, 1831, he began preaching in Ithaca, N. Y., as an independent minister. He had already preached there as a Universalist. His new creed was a Religion of Humanity, apparently entirely innocent of Comte's. His doubts of God's existence were first excited by reading Paley's 'Natural Theology.' But "a voice within the breast" renewed his waning faith. Apparently his infidelity for the next few years was much grosser in others' apprehension and in his own than in reality. At the present time it would not disqualify him for the ministry of an orthodox church, but relatively to the orthodoxy of 1830-34 it was strongly marked. In January, 1834, a new monthly religious magazine appeared called the *Unitarian*. James Freeman Clarke was one of the contributors. It was an attempt to make Unitarianism speak in the vernacular. Brownson's first article, in an early number, was on "Christianity and Reform," and in the later numbers he wrote upon the Saint-Simonians. These articles showed his drift. He was still full of that sympathy with workingmen which carried him into the workingmen's party. But he had become consciously a Christian, in some intellectual fashion satisfactory to himself. The Unitarians received him with a cordiality which is an interesting comment on their ecclesiastical dealings with Emerson, Parker, and others. But Brownson's mind was nothing if not oscillatory, and, when he first allied himself with the Unitarians, it was avowedly as a converted infidel. As such he was put on exhibition, but very soon his construction of Christianity began to grow more liberal, and his 'Charles Elwood,' published in 1840, was quite as radical in its positions as Theodore Parker. It was written two or three years before its publication, and before that event Brownson had already begun to swing the other way, and this tendency was continuous until his conversion to the Roman Catholic belief.

For some ten years, however, he was in more or less close affiliation with the Unitarians. A son born to him in 1834 was named for Dr. Channing, for whom he always had the greatest reverence, while the tone of Channing's letters to him shows a respect for his intellectual ability which was widely shared among the leading Unitarians. A nice glimpse of Channing's delicate asceticism is conveyed in the pages which tell of Brownson's intending to preach for Channing in the afternoon and going home to dine with him. The dinner proved so meagre that Brownson was obliged to sally out and fortify himself at a hotel for his impending task. In the letters of Channing and Ripley and other Unitarians to Brownson, we get very interesting reflections of their ideas, hopes, and plans. Evidently the Unitarians who took kindly to him were not those who represented the "Unitarian orthodoxy" which Channing deprecated and deplored. Brownson wrote much for the Unitarian *Christian Register* and *Christian Examiner*, and with a force and feeling that were attractive. As a preacher he was not less effective than as a writer. But the intellectual and moral restlessness of his earlier career did not much abate during the years of his Unitarian affiliation. The brilliant and superficial Frenchmen, Constant, and Cousin, and Jouffroy, attracted him, and he expounded their teachings with the warmest sympathy and assimilated these with his own thought. He was associated with Ripley in publishing their writings. He was in correspondence with Cousin, and it would appear that he was as influential in introducing this French element into the Transcendental movement as Ripley was in introducing the German, while it is evident that the French element was quite as important as the German, being much more capable of reproduction in a popular form.

Brownson had charge of Unitarian parishes in Walpole, N. H., and in Canton, Mass., but he craved a freer hand, and in 1836, removing from Canton to Chelsea, he established in Boston a Society for Christian Union and Progress. So unsectarian was the Unitarian temper, so far as Channing could effect it, that this movement had much Unitarian sympathy and coöperation. The objects of the society were to advocate and practise free inquiry, to effect the improvement of the manual laborer, to contend for a better morality than the churches generally approved. Some of the sympathy which Brownson received evidently veiled the satisfaction of the more conservative in having all the discontented brought together in one Adullam's cave. But the cave-men did not agree well among themselves, and it was no bed of roses on which Brownson found himself as the leader of his unique organization. He was always distinctly an anti-abolitionist, but the pro-slavery mobs of 1835 and 1836 aroused him to some splendid indignation. In the latter year he assumed the edi-

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torship of the Boston *Reformer*, which had been a Jacksonian paper. His motto was, "No party but mankind"; but his closer affiliation with the Democratic party was steadily progressive, and in 1843-'4 we find him in frequent correspondence with Calhoun, and endeavoring to further the latter's aspirations for a Presidential nomination. From this correspondence one would not imagine that there was such an institution as slavery in the United States. Calhoun is consciously the political reformer, reprehending Van Buren and all his wicked ways. Many readers will be surprised to find Calhoun habitually calling his party "Republican" so late as 1844, and speaking of "States-rights Republican principles." Brownson's political relations with Mr. George Bancroft assured him for several years a political office, the charge of the Marine Hospital in Chelsea.

If his biographer had been purposely confusing, he could not have arranged his matter in a worse manner. Different lines of development are carried on separately, so that we do not see their mutual relations, and can with difficulty make them out. It is evident, however, that Brownson became a good party Democrat and a Roman Catholic almost simultaneously. The book finds its natural climax in his being utilized by his friend Isaac Hecker (later the Paulist Father) to get a fat office for a common friend. The royal road to Rome which Brownson travelled was in remarkable contrast with Newman's long-drawn agony. He had ten times as far to go and went ten times as quickly. He was easily the victim of mere logic, and as he had decided that between Reason and Rome there was no middle ground, and as he did not wish to be a rationalist, there was not much to give him pause. He did, however, stick at the eternal damnation of all his Protestant friends. But the Roman Catholic bishop would not budge an inch, and this conduct on his part, by a delightful paradox, was the last straw which broke the back of Brownson's indecision. If the bishop had wavered, he tells us that his hesitation would have infected his church, and he (Brownson) might never have been saved. Here is a good sample of the working of his mind. He was ever quick at finding reasons for the thing he would willingly believe. No man was ever more driven about by every wind of doctrine. His passion for argument was far in excess of his desire for truth. Imperfectly educated, he never acquired a consistent body of culture or of information. His roots were in the air, not in the ground. They caught at every passing mood or vagary or system of philosophy or social enterprise. His intellectual brilliancy blinded his contemporaries to the defects of his intelligence. His vogue was for a time remarkable, but from our present vantage it would be hard to understand if we could forget the genial optimism of the time and its too generous expectations. His stable equilibrium in the Roman Catholic church was possibly the exhaustion of the intellectual tramp, and possibly it resulted from that cerebral ossification which frequently accompanies the hardening of other tissues when the old age of youth is past and the youth of old age is well begun.

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*Congressional Committees:* A Study of the Origin and Development of our National and Local Legislative Methods. By Lauros G. McConachie. T. Y. Crowell. 1898. Pp. xiv., 441.

Mr. McConachie's book is one of those pieces of work which, while many degrees removed from finality, are nevertheless of considerable usefulness, and make a welcome addition to the store of positive knowledge in their special field. Compared, as it naturally will be, with Miss Follett's 'Speaker of the House of Representatives,' it strikes one at once as less thorough and less mature than that admirable monograph; at the same time, it is unmistakably the product of diligent and independent research, and its accumulated facts are grouped with no little skill. We have not space to follow Mr. McConachie very far into the details of his treatise, but shall confine ourselves, instead, to a brief review of his treatment of three topics of primary importance in his inquiry. The first concerns the origin and strictly historical development of the congressional committee system; the second treats of the composition of the committees; while the third has to do with the effect of the system upon the general course and spirit of legislation.

On the first point, that of the rise and growth of the committee system as we now have it, Mr. McConachie's book, notwithstanding the promise of its title, has less that is new and important to say than upon either of the remaining topics just named. The development of committees in the English Parliament, and the distinctive characteristics of parliamentary procedure, at this point, as taken over by the colonial assemblies, are but cursorily treated, while the interesting field of colonial legislative methods, of which as yet we know but little, is barely skirted. This is the more to be regretted because the committee system, like everything else of value in our institutional life, has its roots in the past, and, in spite of the changes which it has undergone, has in the main been tenacious of precedent. Of the colonial legislatures, those of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, as Mr. McConachie points out, helped most to determine the course of congressional procedure, while Jefferson's 'Manual,' still venerated though little used, gathered up for a later time the scattered precedents and usages of both England and America. Throughout the volume, however, we miss the careful tracing of cause and effect, the orderly exposition of a legislative development in which nothing merely happens. We see, for example, how the expansion of national business has both multiplied committees and circumscribed their field of operations; but only occasionally are we permitted to see anything of the vital connection between the two, or to watch the significant process by which Congress has advanced from the nominal to the real heart of the national administration.

When he comes to deal with the composition of the committees, however, Mr. McConachie is at once more detailed and more satisfactory. If the congressional committee be considered simply as a useful device for expediting business by securing, as a basis for final action, a preliminary examination of important matters, nothing, apparently, could be less scientific than the selection of committee members primarily on geographical and party grounds; yet it is one of the commonplaces of our history that the claims of personal ability, as a ground of choice, have seldom been of other than secondary importance. Geographical location, party service, and the demands of powerful "interests," have long been determining influences, with the first of these as the strongest; as Mr. McConachie puts it, in the contest between ability and locality, the latter has won. The early form of State representation, indeed, itself a heritage from the days of the Confederation, soon broke down in the House of Representatives with the increasing size of that body; but in the practice of appointing, as a general rule, but one member from a State on the same committee, the principle continued to be recognized. Naturally, the struggle for place has produced some curious situations, among them the often-noted preëminence of particular States in the actual control of legislation. Greeley, in his brief term of congressional service, assigned the leadership, as exercised through advantageous committee appointments, to Massachusetts and Maine; Mr. McConachie awards it at present to Maine, Illinois, and Iowa. That the adherence to State representation in any form, as a guiding principle, should also work inequality was, of course, inevitable; and Mr. McConachie has done good service in showing, by a critical examination of committee lists, how great the inequalities have become. In his view, the rural States have always been over-represented on important committees, while the great industrial and commercial States have yet to receive an equitable allotment of opportunity and influence.

Mr. McConachie's discussion of the influence of the committee system on the general course of legislation in Congress is often interesting, though hardly profound. So far as the House of Representatives is concerned, there is essential opposition between the committee system and the principle on which the House itself is constituted. The committees struggle for permanency, while the basis of House membership is a biennial term. To this opposition between constitutional necessity and political interests is due, accordingly, in great measure, the centralization of directive power in the committee on rules, the acknowledged preëminence of a few committees (like the ways-and-means, judiciary, appropriations, and foreign-affairs), and the consequent control of legislation, and even of the political destinies of individual members, by a small and compact body of leaders, with the Speaker at their head. For most practical purposes, the House has, in fact, ceased to be a deliberative body, and has become little more than a machine for registering the decisions of its committees. The Senate, indeed, mainly through its peculiar constitution and unrestricted debate, preserves the form of free deliberation, but its trend is clearly in the direction long since taken by the House.

Mr. McConachie sees clearly enough this strong centralizing tendency, and is inclined to think that it has some evils in its train. His suggested remedies are, first, the choice of the Speaker by popular vote; second, popular election of the Senate; third, publicity of committee proceedings; fourth, the adoption of the closure by the Senate; and, fifth, the development of the committees into "little legislatures," each with a special habitation and its own corps of officials. For none of these changes are other than the familiar arguments advanced, nor can we think that the author's discussion

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makes the wisdom or the expediency of any of them more apparent. The last alone has the merit of relative novelty. The real safeguard thus far against undue centralization, and a very effective one, as Mr. McConachie himself points out, is in the fact of frequent elections, and the opportunity they afford for the expression of public approval or dissent. It is a watchful public sentiment that Congressmen most fear; and the tendency so to order the conduct of affairs as to compel support and approbation rather than censure, while at times checked, is, on the whole, unmistakable. Here, then, is the real problem of the committee on rules—to devise a procedure under which, without undue repression of the minority or total abolition of debate, legitimate popular demands for legislation may be met. In this sense, the committee on rules is the mirror of Congress, and its problems are substantially identical with those of the larger body, whose nominal servant, but actual leader, it is.

Mr. McConachie has done much of his work so thoroughly, and has made available so large a store of facts, that one can but regret his failure to present his material in more concise and definitive form. As a whole, his book is the product of industrious compilation rather than of wide investigation and careful thought. He still harks back to the Germanic forests, though he spares us the usual reference to clashing shields, while his reflections on the future of the United States suggest a confidence in our political sufficiency and high-mindedness which his researches do not always sustain. His method of citing the congressional documents is not to be commended: such an indication as "1:1, C. A., 1:58, Aug. 6, 1789" (p. 267), has nothing but brevity in its favor. We note a few slight misprints, the most important being "Henderson" for "Emerton," on page 7; in general, however, the book is well put together, and the index is fairly full.

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*The Life of Judge Jeffreys.* By H. B. Irving. With three portraits. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

Mr. Irving extends his scope somewhat beyond the traits and actions of the notorious judge, by seeking "to reproduce the general features of a period during which the proceedings in the courts of law were intimately associated with the history of the nation." The announcement, "I have formed a rather different estimate of Jeffreys's life and character from that generally accepted," promises an effort at extenuation, and we are further given to understand that the author's opinion has been formed only "after consulting all accessible authorities, both printed and manuscript, some of which have not been hitherto made use of." When to width of survey and novelty of result is added a style which at times savors of Hepworth Dixon's 'Lord Bacon,' one need not fear that he will have little food for comment.

There are certain limits within which an apologist of Jeffreys must keep. It is a simple matter to show up Lord Campbell's inaccuracies; to prove that he is romancing in his story of Jeffreys's boyhood where his materials are scant. But while the future chancellor may not have begun the world by cheating his schoolfellows at marbles, or have driven his father to exclaim, "George, George, I fear thou wilt die with thy shoes and stockings on," a large residuum of authentic and damaging fact must be taken account of. For instance, he was a minion of Louis de Querouaille and Danby, a court tool in the conduct of intrigues against the City of London which he served, an outrageous partisan on the bench, an habitual drunkard, whose share in the "debauch of wine" at Alderman Duncomb's was an uncommon performance even in the seventeenth century, and, finally, a man of such brutality that in condemning Lady Lisle to be burnt alive he could speak thus: "When I left his Majesty, he was pleased to remit the time of all executions to me; that wherever I found any obstinacy or impenitence, I might order the executions with what speed I should think best; therefore, Mr. Sheriff, take notice you are to prepare for the execution of this gentlewoman this afternoon."

Mr. Irving seems to feel that Jeffreys has been hunted by Whig historians in an unfair way. To continue the figure, he has not been treated as decent and honest game like a lion or wild boar, but has been worried to death like a 'coon by a pack of snapping curs. We admit that Mr. Irving has good ground for urging the need of a modern, critical study of the Sidney trial and the "Bloody Assizes," but he should have been careful (looking at the matter solely from the standpoint of pleading) not to let the tinge of Tory sympathies lend a particle of color to his pages. In Jeffreys's case, popular opinion represents the cumulative effect produced on the mind by so many facts of the same tendency, and by such unmistakable facts, that it would survive proof of much more vilification in detail than Mr. Irving advances. Justification according to any decent standard of public morality is impossible, and indeed Mr. Irving does not attempt it in the abstract. What we really should prefer is a calm statement of the causes which have led Jeffreys to be transformed from an historical culprit to a vulgar villain. A portion of these Mr. Irving incidentally supplies. Our chief objection is that he belabors Jeffreys's enemies in polemical fashion, and thus begets the idea that the Judge has been seriously injured, rather than that the degree of his offences has been exaggerated.

Having indicated the respect in which Mr. Irving falls somewhat short of what is exigible from the modern critic, we pass to his first line of defence. He sees in Jeffreys not so much the cruel hireling of a stupid, marble-hearted king as the efflorescence of a bad system. The seventeenth century was a time of fierce political hatred, and judges were expected to aid their factions from the bench. Whigs were no better than Tories, and persecuted their enemies through the advantage which the Popish Plot gave them no less than the Tories persecuted theirs when turning the Rye House plot to advantage. "As far as political morality goes, in the choice of means and an enlightened appreciation of their opponents, in freedom from prejudice and the grievous assaults of party passion, Shaftesbury and Russell and Sidney can hardly be accounted more temperate and scrupulous than Charles or Sunderland or Jeffreys."

Among the special points which Mr. Irving urges on Jeffreys's behalf are the following. He was not "a man of obscure and ignoble origin, an uneducated declaimer, violent and ignorant, whose shortcomings may be comfortably attributed to the mysterious consequences of want of breeding," but "well born, well educated, and gifted." At the Temple he was not a toper and boon companion of rowdy associates to the exclusion of all study. "Drink and low company cannot, even in Charles II.'s reign, explain the extraordinary rapidity of Jeffreys's rise." He was a favorite of Sir Matthew Hale. His rash marriage at nineteen is a tribute to his good-nature or his honor. His portrait by Kneller at the age of thirty (now in the National Portrait Gallery) is likely to work "a revulsion in favor of the Judge, such as no apologizing or whitewashing can achieve." He had a sense of humor "which lightens the darkest passages of his misdoings." Roger North, who certainly cannot be accused of favoring him, testifies that "when he was in temper and matters indifferent came before him, he became his seat of justice better than any other I ever saw in his place." Mr. Irving accepts Lingard's view of Jeffreys's conduct during the Sidney trial. "He showed that he was able to control the impetuosity of his temper, adopting a courtesy of language and a tone of impartiality which no man would have anticipated from his previous character." And coming to the reign of James, Lady Lisle was guilty of treason under existing law. Jeffreys would not humor the King by becoming a Roman Catholic, and on the celebrated—or infamous—Western Circuit, he was tortured by one of the most painful diseases.

Mr. Irving suggests that if we judge Jeffreys "by modern standards and without a due appreciation of the difference between the present and the past, we may commit an impertinence." On the other hand, so long as the seventeenth century furnishes a Sir Matthew Hale, there is danger in levelling down to the standard of Sir William Scroggs. Mr. Irving has written very cleverly, but we cannot altogether acquit him of special pleading. It would be unfair to make such a charge without supporting it by at least a single example, so that in closing we shall quote his full comment on the portrait which we have already mentioned:

"His picture is the likeness of a refined and delicately made young man, the head small and covered by thick brown hair, the eyes large and dark, the nose rather long and straight, the upper lip short, the mouth finely curved. His hands are peculiarly small and delicate in shape. If only a sufficient number of people visit the National Portrait Gallery there is likely to be a revulsion in favor of the Judge, such as no apologizing or whitewashing can achieve. That specious thing known as the 'verdict of history' has never received such a decisive and simple rejoinder as in this portrait of Jeffreys. Whether it will be effective depends on the popularity of the National Portrait Gallery."

We can see no evidence of virtue in the excellent plate which illustrates this passage. If Mr. Irving simply means that the visage is delicate and not prima facie that of a ruffian, we agree. Otherwise it might belong well enough to Tito Melema.

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*The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct.* By Alexander Sutherland. Longmans. 1898.

Mr. Sutherland has condensed into these two handsome volumes the abundant fruits of no little industry and learning. He has taken pains to write lucidly and in the most non-technical language practicable; and his

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preliminary explanations and summaries take his readers into his confidence and laudably facilitate the comprehension of his argument. The result is that he has succeeded in producing a thoroughly readable and interesting book—no slight commendation of a work extending to nearly 800 pages! A more difficult question arises when we ask how far his book achieves conclusiveness in its arguments and fulfils the promise of its title-page.

Mr. Sutherland's main contention, of which the severest critic would not deny the ingenuity and suggestiveness, is that the moral sentiments arise in the family life, whence they slowly filter into the sphere of positive law, which originally aimed, not at justice, but at the preservation of some sort of social order. The moral sentiments in their turn are developments of the sympathetic emotions which are engendered by the family, and these owe their growing strength to the fact that they most effectually minister to the preservation of the race. In a monogamous and united family supported by both its parents, the chances for the survival of the offspring are by far the most favorable. But any parental care, however slight in extent, has a proportionate effect. This is interestingly illustrated by tables showing how among vertebrates, from the fishes upwards, the number of offspring which has to be produced to maintain the race is gradually diminished in proportion as parental protection becomes more efficient. A codfish, which casts her eggs upon the waters to chance it, has to produce over 6,000,000 a year; in the shark, which has adopted the viviparous habit, or the stickleback, which builds a nest and protects it, a few dozen are sufficient, with an enormous economy of parental tissue. And so the process may be traced throughout the higher orders, until in man a point is reached when a child is produced on an average only once in two years. Thus numerical fertility diminishes and with it the physical strain on the parent, while the offspring's chances of survival are improved. And as the immoral, unsocial, and unsympathetic are continually being eliminated, we are led to the orthodox conclusion of optimistic evolutionism, viz., that the establishment of a millennium when everybody will be happy (because his instincts will prompt to the fulfilment of every duty) is simply a matter of time. The divine event to which the whole animate creation moves is the realization of the very bourgeois ideal of the perfect family man!

The amplest appreciation of the ingenuity with which Mr. Sutherland works out many parts of his argument must not prevent a critic from pointing out that this sort of thing has been done before, and that its plausibility depends mainly upon a (no doubt very natural) selection of the facts on which the evolutionary argument is made to rest. As, however, Huxley's Romanes Lecture has shown, it is possible to form a very different estimate of the moral bearing of biological facts, and the despair of that great apostle of evolutionism was not so much based, perhaps, upon temperamental bias as upon a more extensive survey of the facts. At all events, it is not difficult to point to several serious lacunæ in the evidence on which Mr. Sutherland relies. His theory avowedly concerns itself only with vertebrate history, the invertebrates being, not unreasonably perhaps, ignored as differing too much in the principles of their structure. Again, no mention is made of the possibility of degeneration and parasitism, and this must seriously affect the soundness of many of Mr. Sutherland's arguments, *e. g.*, from the habits of existing savages, who are in many cases degenerate and in all have failed to progress. All that he really shows is that a large number of the facts may be serially arranged in such a manner as to illustrate his theory; he does not show that arrangements pointing in other directions are not equally plausible, or that the whole mass of facts submits to any consistent interpretation.

The reason of his failure in this respect is that, in spite of the admiration for Darwin expressed in his preface, Mr. Sutherland's notion of biological history is in reality Spencerian rather than Darwinian. The influence of Spencer is perhaps most apparent in his concluding chapter, but it subtly pervades the whole book. It causes him to assume that "evolution" is necessarily progressive, and progress inevitable (*e. g.*, i. p. 223, ii. 304), and to speak of an "absolutely undeviating law of progress" (i. p. 359). But for all this there is no sanction in Darwinian theory. Progress cannot be erected into an "undeviating law" of existence by our forgetting the widespread phenomena of degeneration and decay. It is, properly speaking, not a *law* at all, but a *result* of the action of laws of natural selection and the like. As such it is not a *principle*, but has been a *fact*, to an extent which our interest in it perhaps induces us to exaggerate. It forms a thin red thread of rational connection that runs through a labyrinthine mass of perplexing detail, and its continuation has often seemed past praying for. Hence, so far from being inevitable, progress has been the standing marvel of history. From a strictly Darwinian point of view, therefore, we cannot see the necessity either that progress should continue, or the life of man or any other species of animal; we have no business to ascribe to nature any "need" for any form of life (cf. i. p. 5), or any preference for greater complexity or "nobler types" (cf. i. p. 28). And when we have eradicated from our minds such survivals of teleological and anthropomorphic theories, it is to be feared that the biological facts will cease to suggest a ready-made road to moral perfection in following "Nature." The truth is, rather, that all sorts of methods and tricks may lead to survival, and in some measure have done so, while only to a few of them can be ascribed moral value.

The insecurity of its scientific foundation is in reality enough to vitiate Mr. Sutherland's argument, but its more philosophic superstructure also will hardly resist the touch of criticism. It may be noted, in the first place, that the first part of his title is practically a misnomer. His attempts to account for the *origin* of the moral sentiments are of the slightest. The question of how unconscious passed into conscious parental care, how such satisfaction of selfish instincts became sympathy with others, how this sympathy generated the sense of duty and the judgment of "ought," receive little more than the answer that, as a matter of fact, all these things have happened. Very possibly they have, and yet the fact does not satisfy our craving for an explanation of the moral sensibility. We want to understand the psychological magic whereby new elements were conjured into existence in the mind, the psychological alchemy which transmuted the old into such novel shapes. And to tell us that these novelties arose as germs and have grown wondrously, does not help us, but only increases our perplexity. Would it not be better to content one's self with Darwinism and to describe as "accidental" the variations which divert the course of history?

It is hardly necessary to add, therefore, that Mr. Sutherland has not disposed of what he is pleased to call the "transcendental" view of our moral nature. Indeed, his polemic against it lacks both novelty and comprehension of what his opponents really contend for. To deny that the moral consciousness can be naturalistically derived may mean one of two things: it may mean either, as indicated above, that the connection between it and the matrix out of which it is said to have grown is not psychological, but only historical, or that the argument which professes to derive it itself presupposes it. There is nothing in either view to make it incumbent upon anybody to deny any amount of development of the content of the moral consciousness. Hence, it cannot be admitted that the light Mr. Sutherland has thrown on many parts of the history of moral ideas is in any sense available as a solution of the problem of their meaning.

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*The Essentials of Argumentation.* By Elias J. MacEwan. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 1898.

The faults of this book are those of its kind, which undertake to teach young men to argue before they have been taught to think—a sin particularly blamable in a work that is "an outgrowth of a dozen years' experience in a leading agricultural college." For it is not likely to become the duty of the graduate of such an institution to make elaborate argumentations, unless he happens to have something important to communicate to his neighbors; while he certainly is destined to be often situated where no rule of thumb, nor anything but sound reasoning, can serve his turn. The first requisite for argumentation, says in effect Mr. MacEwan, is to have a distinct conception of what it is of which one wishes to persuade men. But the very first thing of all required to justify unforensic argumentation is that one should find one's self compelled by irrefragable evidence to advocate a certain proposition.

The preface of the book conveys the idea that its logical doctrine is based upon Whately and Mill. As for Whately, dexterous as he was in a showy sort of *logica utens*, his logical theory was exploded half a century ago by writers as antagonistic and as antiquated as Hamilton and Mill. While Mill certainly made important contributions to logic, he is to-day worshipped chiefly by those of the elder generation who have not closely followed the course of logical discussion; serious students generally holding his false theory of induction responsible for his strange mistakes of appreciation of inductive researches that were recent when his logic first appeared. Nevertheless, had Mr. MacEwan followed either Mill's or any unitary theory of logic, he would at least have presented to his students a tolerably well-arranged and self-accordant system of ideas about inference. In point of fact, he supplies only disjected observations drawn from conflicting sources, which, by the way, he does not always avow.

The author's habitual lack of precision

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and wordiness may be illustrated by the following definition of Moral Certainty, which is no mere negligence of the pen, but is borrowed, as a gem of thought, from another author:

"It is not the exclusion of all doubt. It is that certainty which convinces and directs the understanding and satisfies the reason and judgment of those who act conscientiously upon it; that leads us to act in the gravest concerns of life in our affairs."

In simple truth, moral certainty is the exclusion, not of an abstract possibility of an imaginary doubt, but of a real possibility of all living doubt on the part of sane and informed minds. Thus, nobody can really doubt that Napoleon Bonaparte actually lived and did many extraordinary deeds in the early nineteenth century.

As another specimen of the same thing, we are told that the burden of proof is against affirmative propositions, but no definition of an affirmative proposition is attempted. Is this proposition, "January 1, 1800, is likely to have been, roughly speaking, a good deal like other winter days as to its temperature," an affirmative or negative proposition? Which way would the burden of proof lie in a court of law? This is a topic concerning which explanations were particularly needed in a book like the present, which ought to show that the obligation of the burden of proof supposes at least two prerequisite conditions, first, that the question to which the burden relates has to be settled one way or the other, and, second, that it has to be settled upon an explicit rational principle. Thus, there is a burden of proof in law, because both these conditions are satisfied; but there is none in pure science, because there is no need of rendering a decision concerning a scientific question; and there is none in regard to our strictly private affairs, in which it is often safer to trust to our instincts than to any general reason which we are able to formulate. But Mr. MacEwan does not recognize these distinctions, saying, on this head, "The same rule which governs forensic argument is applicable to literary and scientific argument." We fear he has never found a satisfactory answer to the question, What is the nature of the obligation of the burden of proof? The following, given as an example of a *petitio principii*, is borrowed from some brother rhetorician of small sense of humor:

"A woman, on seeing a very small porringer, said to a child, 'That must have been a wee bear's porringer; it is so small,' and then added, 'He must have been smaller than we thought, mustn't he?' To assume that the bear was very small in order to prove that the porringer was his, and then from the fact that the porringer is small to infer that the bear must have been very small, is manifestly to beg the question."

It is impossible to give an accurate logical characterization of a mere jest, because an accurate logical characterization must look at the real meaning. But consider this analogous case. In 1886, some osseous scuta and toe-bones were found in the miocene of Kansas. The eminent Cope declared they must have belonged to a giant armadillo; whence he inferred, what was unexpected, that the edentata were represented in the North American miocene. No matter if his first inference was wrong, and that it was a tortoise, not an armadillo; there was, at least, no trace of a *petitio principii* in the reasoning. There was none in the first step, which probably inferred that the fossils belonged to an armadillo; for that followed a well-established method. Nor was there any in the second step, that miocene armadillos existed and were surprisingly large; for the first inference being granted left no escape from this. Substitute *porringer* for *fossils*, *bear* for *armadillo*, and *small* for *great*, and the rhetorician may find his example again.

The above specimens really do not adequately picture the logical fog and tohu-bohu of the logical part of the book. The illustrative examples ought to have been drawn, as much as possible, from the life of the agriculturist. In fact, they are taken from Burke, Webster, and such like solemnities. Huxley is often quoted, however, though never where he is attempting scientific reasoning.

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*Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight.* Brook Farm and Concord. Edited by George Willis Cooke. Harper & Bros. 1898.

Mr. Cooke has studied Emerson and others of the Concord set so carefully that he was well prepared to edit the letters which he now presents to us, and to write the introduction which makes an agreeable addition to their worth. If the introduction is not, like the old lady's "Hamlet," "made up of quotations," it contains several, each some pages long, to which no one will object, be they never so familiar, because they are Mr. Curtis's own happy characterizations of Brook Farm and some of the people who were attached to it more or less closely. One of these is Isaac Hecker—best known as Father Hecker—who was for a time at Brook Farm and Concord, and who, after he became a Roman Catholic, tried to bring Curtis into the Mother Church. Curtis's letter about him was written for a life of him that was published a few years ago. It is a very generous appreciation; too generous, considering Hecker's treatment of Emerson, which was most contemptuous and bitter, sounding a note not to be heard elsewhere. When this note reached Curtis's ears in the Hecker biography, he must have wished to qualify what he had written in ignorance of Hecker's vulgar and splenetic slander of the man for whom he (Curtis) had a boundless reverence. A worthier object of Curtis's admiring touch was George P. Bradford; and John S. Dwight, the other party to the correspondence herewith published, was duly honored from the "Easy Chair" when his *Musical Journal* ended its long and satisfactory career. These tributes of affectionate admiration are here reproduced, set, with others, in Mr. Cooke's own pleasant narrative, and his commentary on persons and events.

The making of this book, we understand, was incidental to a larger undertaking. Mr. Cooke is preparing a life of John S. Dwight, and, finding these letters written to him, but not Dwight's replies, and persuaded that in a life of Dwight they would occupy disproportionate space, he concluded to publish them separately, trusting them to justify him to Mr. Curtis's friends, if not to a wider public. They are certain to do this. They are a significant supplement to Mr. Cary's excellent life of Curtis, illustrating very richly and effectively the period of his later youth. It is interesting to compare them with Curtis's later correspondence, and with his more deliberate literary work. This form of statement implies that these letters have a literary character. They have, in that they are studiously nice and dainty in expression. They are exercises in the art of writing, an art in which Curtis, in his twentieth year, when many of these letters were written, was too much involved to write spontaneously and simply, even to his dearest friends. As he went on, his letters became less and less his favorite vehicle of utterance. In the early fifties his numerous letters to Charles F. Briggs were far less elaborate than these, and in his later life his letters generally were mere notes, the shortest of them seldom lacking something of form and beauty that was an insurance of their safety in the receiver's hands.

Mr. Cooke's estimate of these letters is an extremely modest one. They are remarkable letters for a boy of nineteen and twenty, and even for the boy who became ultimately a journalist and orator of distinguished fame. They show to what extent Curtis's manner of writing was the gift of God; that he could write well from the start, and that "the steps of beauty" were for him those of pruning and repression to a very great extent. Both the thought and the expression are far less simple than in the lectures, editorials, and other writings of his later life. Early in his mature career he seems to have conceived "plainness and clearness without shadow of stain" as his ideal of workmanship, and the simplicity of his style seems to have reacted upon his thought and to have made that much more simple than it might otherwise have been. There is a promise of vagueness and subtlety, and even of profundity, in these letters which never was fulfilled. As he grew older he thought less of self-expression and more of speaking in a voice capable of general apprehension. Had he gone further in the direction of these letters, he might have made himself incomprehensible enough to satisfy the most exigent mystic of his or our own time.

The letters contain little in the way of direct expression of Curtis's admiration for Emerson, but the influence of that master is betrayed in many passages and in the whole trend of the writer's thought and feeling. The style as well as the thought shows what bee-bread he has been eating, as when he writes, "We want magnanimity and truth, not the names of those who have been magnanimous and true; and I do not see why nature to-day does not offer to me all the grandeur of character that has illustrated any period." There is nothing here of conscious imitation; much of sympathetic assimilation. Young Curtis was too loyal a disciple of Emerson to be a good Brook Farmer, especially in the second and more Fourierite stage of the experiment. With many tender recollections of his stay at the Farm, he unites a frank hostility to the principle of association. He is for individualism first, last, and always. It is interesting to note to what degree the admirations of his youth have stood the century's stress. Some of them are very provincial, as where Cole's "Voyage of Life" gets an enthusiastic page, and Bettina von Arnim fools him to the top of his bent as she did many others. On the other hand, in view of his known delight in Jenny Lind, she figures very modestly in the letters, especially when we consider that they were written to a musical enthusiast. Curtis was another, often wondering how he could love music so much and not dedicate

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his life to it. Of what his life came to be at length there is little indication. What hint of the anti-slavery reformer in this, "That there is a slave on my plantation is no evil, but that the slave should be unwilling to be so, that is the difficulty"? What hint of the civil-service reformer in the opinion that "reform becomes atheistic the moment it is organized"? In 1844, however, we find him applauding an anti-slavery address of Emerson's, and then and after rapidly concluding that there are as good people in the open world as in any of the cloisters that seclude men from it, and that, at any rate, the open world is the place to form a character and do one's work. Through all this slag of flowery rhetoric there runs an iron thread of common sense, than which nothing was more characteristic of the man he came at length to be.

The sub-title of the book is possibly a misnomer. "New York and Concord" would be better, for none of the letters was written from Brook Farm. Most of them were written from New York, whither Curtis went in 1843, after leaving the Farm and before he went to Concord as a kind of literary farmer in the spring of 1844. His farm-life at Concord is reported scantily. He once writes of himself as "up to his ears in manure and dishwater," but in general his talk is not of bullocks, but of books and music and "the infinities and immensities." Taken in their entirety, the letters are a fine disclosure of the working of Transcendentalism in a singularly ardent and ingenuous youth. The heel-taps of the century in which our modern youth delights are no such fairy wine as this, but are they as much better as they are different?

Mr. Cooke has earned our gratitude, but he would have done so more completely if he had made an index to his book. Its need of one is great.

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*The Cheverels of Cheverel Manor.* By Lady Newdigate-Newdegate. With illustrations from family portraits. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

This sheaf of family letters revives the image of those quiet Warwickshire parishes which George Eliot has endeared to the English world in her 'Scenes of Clerical Life.' Among places, her Shepperton is Chilvers Coton, and her Cheverel Manor is Arbury; among people, her Rev. Maynard Gilfil is the Rev. B. Gilpin Ebdell, and her Sir Christopher Cheverel is Sir Roger Newdigate, founder of the celebrated prize at Oxford and representative of the University in Parliament from 1745-1780. Whereas in 'Amos Barton' and 'Janet's Repentance' she drew upon actual tragedies of recent date, in 'Mr. Gilfil's Love Story' she went back two generations, and "there were no existing susceptibilities that could be wounded by her realism at the date of its publication." In the first and last stories of the series her satire of living persons was often playful and sometimes sharp, but she never roused the sort of hostility in Warwickshire which Hawthorne provoked at Salem by his introduction to the 'Scarlet Letter.' It is only into 'Mr. Gilfil,' however, that the Newdigates enter, and nothing more ill-natured occurs in her delineation of them than that Lady Cheverel was rather too dignified and unsympathetic. "Her proud pouting lips, and her head thrown a little backward as she walks, give an expression of hauteur which is not contradicted by the cold gray eye." The selfish heartbreaker of the tale, Capt. Wybrow, stands for Sir Roger's nephew and heir, Charles Parker, but, through discrepancy of age, he could not be seriously accused of playing havoc with the heroine's feelings.

Taine replied to one who criticised the 'Origines de la France Contemporaine' for its dependence on obscure and insignificant sources: "Il n'y a pas de mauvais documents." We need to remember this opinion in reading 'The Cheverels of Cheverel Manor.' The letters which Lady Newdigate-Newdegate includes in the present volume are of slight intrinsic value, and if they aspire to attract attention beyond the family circle, or at most beyond the county, they must rely for success almost wholly on their connection with George Eliot. For the rest, they perhaps equal the purely domestic parts of the Paston Letters in style, and, if they dated from the fifteenth century, might be ranked as an important authority for social history. Their handicap is our ample knowledge from other and more piquant memoirs of how the lesser aristocracy lived a hundred years ago, and what was the range of their ideas. The members of the Newdigate household are well enough individualized to attract devotees of biography; other readers will miss the wit and dash which belong to good letters, and must watch carefully if they are searching for fresh information. We have noted nothing more singular than some few references to the clavicello, an instrument which figures in Romney's portrait of Lady Newdigate, and which the editor calls "a violoncello with a keyboard attached to it." Sir Roger Newdigate was a classical scholar and an amateur of the fine arts. We should accordingly expect to meet a smattering of Greek and Latin quotations, together with a certain amount of literary gossip. These elements are hardly represented at all, and for original criticism nothing more suggestive than this amusing reference to Goethe appears: "We have just finish'd y^e^ Sorrows of Werter, a novel which was much in Vogue last year. It is interesting but I think y^e^ sentiments of the Hero often exceptionable. Y^e^ Author seems sensible of it & makes a sort of lame apology in the preface." We must add that this comment comes from Lady Newdigate and not from Sir Roger.

The reason why this correspondence, considered as a whole, must be called lacking in zest, is that the second Lady Newdigate wrote most of the letters. She was not in actual life the lofty, unemotional lady whom the novelist, basing her character on traditions of the housekeeper's room, conceived her to be. She was grateful to Sir Roger for marrying her, and sympathetic rather than austere to her acquaintances and servants. Unfortunately she was also commonplace in her observations, her interest, and her ideas. She is forever recording what she had to eat, and chronicling the disbursement of small sums of money. She does not like to spend too much, and yet she is not very ready to sacrifice conveniences. There is something half plaintive, half impotent, in a letter to Sir Roger from Buxton, wherein she reports her expenses. "Last Night finish'd my 1st week. I paid my Bills £13.14—too much, but I don't know how to lessen expense, without lessening Comforts." Her real merits were genuine family affection and cheerfulness under a great deal of weak health.

The editor assures us that she presents "materials for a far more intimate and authentic knowledge of the lives and characters of the real Cheverels of Cheverel Manor than ever had George Eliot." The closest parallelism between story and fact is afforded in the case of the baronet. Sir Roger's portrait by Romney shows him to have been in presence what George Eliot calls him, "as fine a specimen of the old English gentleman as could well have been found in those venerable days of cocked-hats and pigtails." Intellectually he was worthy of the relation which he held to Oxford, and his artistic tastes were so cultivated that he may be fairly termed a virtuoso. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, in a biographical sketch, named him "the incomparable baronet of Arbury," and stated that in friendly conversation "his fine open countenance was lighted up with a blended radiance of intelligence and benevolence which those who saw it often cannot adequately describe, but no one who once saw it will ever forget." The combined evidence of local fame, obituary notice, and family memorials leaves no doubt that here we have the type by which a landed aristocracy goes a reasonable distance towards justifying itself. One could wish that the muniment room at Arbury contained more of his letters, if even at the sacrifice of an equal number of his wife's.

Mr. Charles Parker and Mr. Ebdell are less conspicuous than the Newdigates and can be overlooked, but we must not neglect to mention the "sweet syren" who in George Eliot's hands becomes a heroine—Catarina Sarti. Sir Roger's fondness for Italy, and the long periods which he spent there in studying, travelling, and collecting, rendered it natural in romance to derive his protégée from an Italian origin. Actually she was a Warwickshire girl, Sally Shilton, and probably the daughter of a collier on the estate. Lady Newdigate had a strong aptitude for music, chanced to hear the child sing, was impressed by the quality of her voice, brought her to Arbury, provided her with music masters, and eventually accepted her as a companion. The adventure proved a complete success except in one respect, that Sally was prevented by nervousness and delicacy of constitution from developing into a professional singer. At eighteen the state of her health caused the Newdigates great anxiety, and they sent her to Lisbon. At twenty-six she married the vicar, and lived happily with him till the age of forty-nine, instead of dying the early death which the nature of George Eliot's plot required.

Besides the beautiful printing, binding, and illustrations of this book, we can commend the thread of editorial explanation by which the letters are connected and rendered intelligible.

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*John and Sebastian Cabot.* The Discovery of North America. By C. Raymond Beazley. [Builders of Greater Britain Series.] Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

Cabot literature of the last three years has been so polemical that it is pleasant to take up a survey of the evidence relating to John and Sebastian which is truly critical in tone. Mr. Beazley's sketch is half learned, half popular, comprehensive in survey, and coördinative in treatment. Whereas the voyages of 1497-8 have been almost the exclusive subjects of recent controversy, they fill only three out of his fifteen chapters. Conditioned by its place in the series, this es-

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say cannot venture to discuss geographical questions pure and simple: it must consider the connection of the Cabots with England, and it must also reveal the attitude of the English mind toward exploration during the sixty years between John Cabot's first voyage and Sebastian Cabot's death, 1497-1557. On both geographical and personal points, Mr. Beazley adjudicates between Harrisse, Deane, Dawson, Tarducci, Desimoni, and Coote (with an occasional touch of his own superadded), and he indirectly illustrates England's apathy in the matter of foreign trade before the northeast venture of 1553.

One other feature of Mr. Beazley's method —and it is given chief prominence in the preface—is well adapted to serve his present purpose of conveying sound information clearly and in small compass. "Nowhere, as far as I know, have the leading documents as a whole been presented to the reader as the backbone of the *narrative;* yet nowhere is a general and accurate view of the small mass of first-hand testimony more essential than in the Cabot controversy." To meet this want the best authorities are cited textually, and then supplemented by the more reputable writers of later date. Thus, in the case of the original expedition, Pasqualigo's family correspondence and Soncino's reports to the Duke of Milan are presented and examined first. Then come in order, numbering from 1 to 9, Peter Martyr, Ramusio, Ziegler, Gomara, Galvano, Thevet, Ribaut, Eden, and the Map of 1544. The same idea is furthermore worked out in a long appendix, wherein are catalogued the documents which throw light on the English career of father and son.

Mr. Beazley has nothing materially new to offer on the landfall, and we pass by that much-buffeted Cabo de Ynglaterra with the more alacrity from having devoted so much attention to it in our previous notices of Cabot books. Greater present interest attaches to his estimate of Sebastian's character, and his account of the Merchant Adventurers' attempt "to bring the merchandise of Calicut to the north part of Europe by way of Muscovy." With regard to Sebastian versus John, Mr. Beazley inclines to think that Sebastian accompanied his father both in 1497 and 1498, yet in apportioning the credit he freely accepts Henry Stevens's formula: "Sebastian Cabot *minus* John Cabot=0." On the other hand, while he sees with the rest of the world that Sebastian stole his father's reputation and traded upon it in a highly unfilial manner, he will not agree with Mr. Harrisse's view that the son was an unmitigated fraud. His grounds for ascribing actual ability to Sebastian are the following general considerations:

"It is difficult to believe that he could have enjoyed—to so remarkable a degree as he did—the confidence of Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, Ferdinand the Catholic, Charles V., of Edward VI. and his chief advisers, of the Republic of Venice—if he was simply the clever but absolutely empty humbug he has been represented. His instructions for the English enterprise of Chancellor and Willoughby in 1553 at least show good sense and practical knowledge of the requirements of such an expedition. Charles V. would hardly have saved him as he did from the almost successful attack of his enemies after the La Plata voyage if he had not attached a very high value to his services; and the same is shown by the Emperor's anxiety to retain him in his employ after Sebastian's final removal from Spain to England (1547)."

Besides standing in the good graces of English and Spanish kings, he impressed himself on the confidence of geographers like Peter Martyr and Ramusio, and on men of affairs like Contarini and the Venetian Ten; nor must we "allow too much weight to language which may have been partly inspired by racial and national jealousy."

Secondly, instead of detailing Sebastian's schemes-to-get-increased pay and position out of Spain, Venice, or England, we would emphasize his share in promoting English trade with Russia. In 1553 he was Royal Chief Pilot, with a loose jurisdiction over others of his craft and the dignity of maritime adviser to the crown. Whether or no he took part in that quarrel between Merchant Adventurers and Hanseatics which resulted in the Steelyard merchants being declared "no legal corporation" (1551), he had risen to be chief official of the Merchant Adventurers two years later. Beyond doubt he was "the chief setter-forth" of the expedition sent out under Willoughby and Chancellor to find a northeast passage, and he provided the sailors with a list of thirty-three instructions which appear in Hakluyt and prove his eminence at the time. Willoughby and his crew were frozen to death near Kola in Lapland, but Chancellor reached Moscow and secured large trading privileges from Ivan the Terrible. Mr. Beazley traces to this enterprise, which Cabot started, the continuous development of Greater Britain, and so gives Sebastian a right to rank near, if not beside, John. In other words, though morally he is deficient, historically he is important.

This volume contains enough information concerning sources, literature, and results to satisfy all but geographical specialists. It is carefully written, and justifies its place in a useful series.

### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Alexander, Prof. W. J. Select Poems of Shelley. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Bligh, H. H. The Quebec Law Index. Montreal: C. Theoret.
Brush, Dr. E. F. Milk. Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co.
Buchan, John. John Burnet of Barns. A Romance. John Lane. $1.50.
Clews, J. B. Fortuna. A Story of Wall Street. J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co. $1.
Conder, Lieut.-Col. C. R. The Hittites and Their Language. Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50.
Cooke, G. W. Early Letters of George Wm. Curtis to John S. Dwight. Harpers. $1.50.
Davenport, R. R. Anglo-Saxons Onward. A Romance of the Future. Cleveland, O.: Hubbell Publishing Co. 50c.
Dix, Rev. Morgan. A History of the Parish of Trinity Church. Vol. I. Putnams. $5.
Dowell, Stephen. "Thoughts and Words." 3 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. $10.50.
Fall, Anna C. The Tragedy of a Widow's Third. Boston: Irving P. Fox. 75c.
Fessenden, Laura D. Bonnie MacKirby. An International Episode. Rand, McNally & Co.
Ford, P. L. Great Words from Great Americans. Putnams. $1.50.
Fouillée, Alfred. Les Etudes Classiques et la Démocratie. Paris: Colin & Cie.
Gallaher, J. E. Best Lincoln Stories. Chicago: J. E. Gallaher & Co.
Grahame, Kenneth. The Headswoman. John Lane. 35c.
Greene, Sarah P. McL. The Moral Imbeciles. Harpers. $1.25.
Grey, Henry. The Classics for the Million. London: John Long; New York: Putnams. $1.25.
Griffis, W. E. Charles Carleton Coffin. Boston: Estes & Laureat.
Growoll, A. Book-Trade Bibliography in the U. S. in the XIVth Century. New York: Dibdin Club.
Harkness, Prof. J., and Morley, Prof. F. Introduction to the Theory of Analytic Functions. Macmillan. $3.
Kerr, Richard. Wireless Telegraphy Popularly Explained. Scribners. 75c.
Kuyper, Abraham. Encyclopedia of Sacred Theology. Scribners. $4.
Le Queux, William. Scribes and Pharisees. A Story of Literary London. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
Meredith, George. Beauchamp's Career. The Adventures of Harry Richmond. Scribners. Each $1.25.
Murray, Prof. J. O. Selections from the Poetical Works of William Cowper. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.10.
New York the Second City of the World. Vol I. The Republic Press.
Ostrander, D. The Social Crisis. F. T. Neely. 50c.
Paton, J. G. Autobiography. Vol. III. F. H. Revell Co. 50c.
Robertson, Rev. Alexander. The Bible of St. Mark. Dodd, Mead & Co. $3.50.
Scobel, A. Thüringen. [Land und Leute Monographien.] Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing; New York: Lemcke & Buechner.
Speer, R. E. Missions and Politics in Asia. F. H. Revell Co. $1.
Stapfer, Prof. Edmond. The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. Scribners. $1.25.
Stories by Foreign Authors. Italian, Polish, etc. Scribners. Each 75c.
Sweny, H. R. A Short and Concise Treatise on Golf. Albany: J. B. Lyon.
The Fate of a Soldier. J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co. 25c.
The Golfer's Alphabet. Illustrated. Harpers. $1.50.
The Navy in the Civil War. The Atlantic Coast. By Daniel Ammen. The Gulf and Inland Waters. By A. T. Mahan. The Blockade and the Cruisers. By J. R. Soley. Scribners. Each $1.
Thorpe, F. N. A Constitutional History of the American People. 2 vols. Harpers. $5.
Thwaites, R. G. The Jesuit Relations. Vol. XXV. Iroquois, Hurons, Quebec. Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co.
Tovey, D. C. Gray's English Poems. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. $1.10.
Tyler, R. L. "Four Months After Date." A Business Romance. New York: Stuyvesant Publishing Co. 50c.
Webb, Sidney, and Beatrice. Problems of Modern Industry. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.50.
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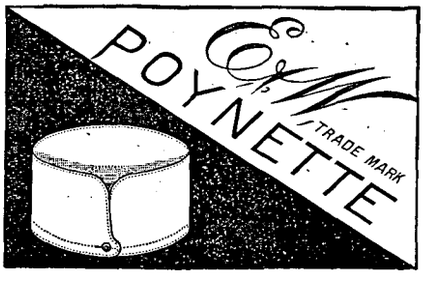


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